

Burma and the Japanese Invader

BURMA

AND THE JAPANESE INVADER

By

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With a Foreword by

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Governor of Burma.

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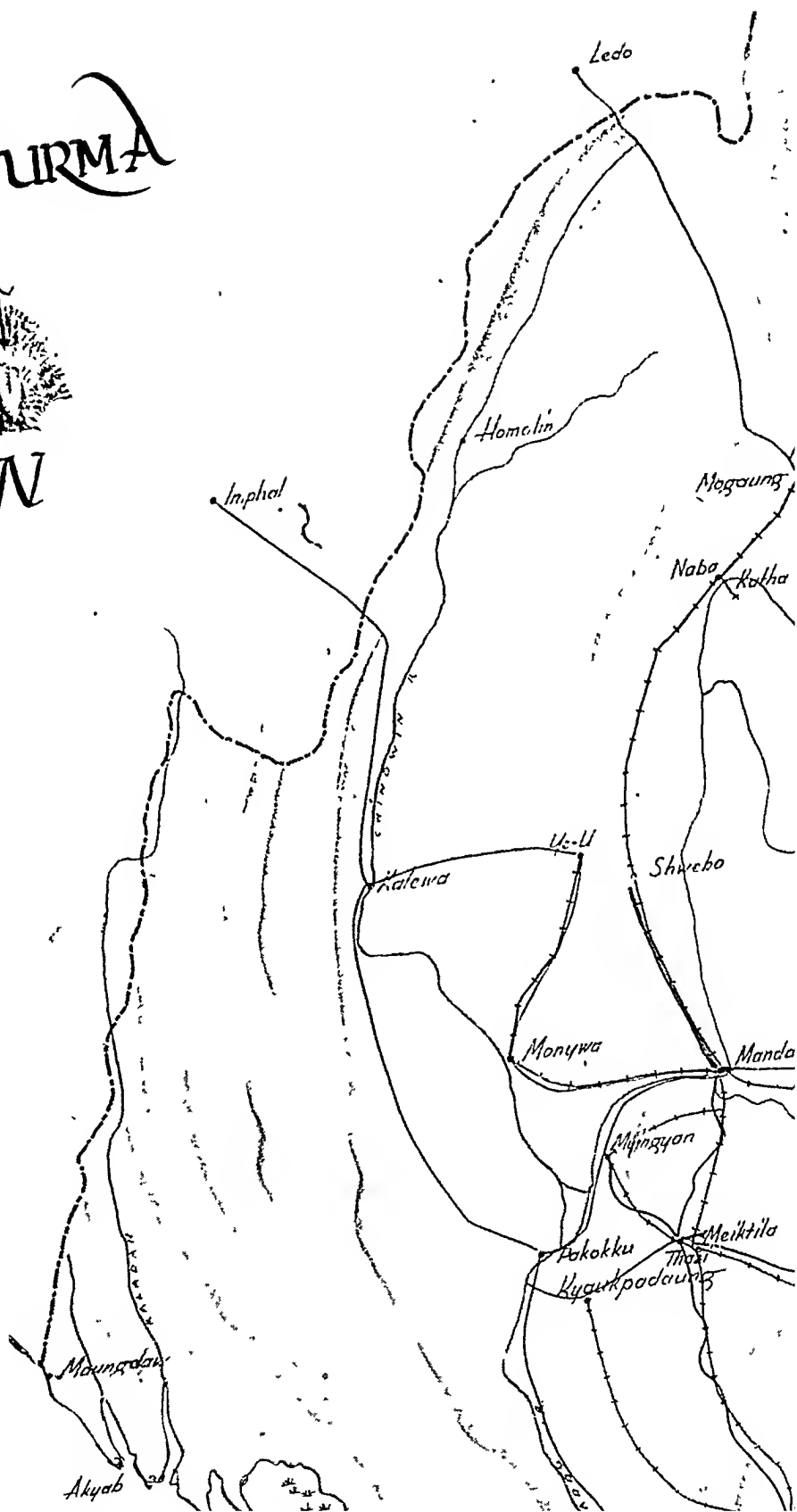
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BURMA



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CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. BURMA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE	7
Geographical Backgrounds	7
Peoples and Languages	12
III. BURMA: ITS HISTORY.. .. .	20
Historical Foundations	20
The Pre-British Period	22
The British Connection	27
The First Anglo-Burmese War, 1824	28
The Second Anglo-Burmese War, 1852	31
The Third Anglo-Burmese War, 1885	36
Pacification and Reorganization	37
The Present Century	40
IV. ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY FOR BURMA.. .. .	44
Early French Interest in Burma	44
France and the End of the Alaungpaya Dynasty	49
Since 1886.. .. .	54
V. SEPARATION FROM INDIA	58
Burma's Union with India	58
Burma and the Indian Reform Acts.. .. .	60
Burma and the Simon Commission.. .. .	65
Progress by Conference	67
Anti-Separationists	70
Parliamentary Inquiry and Decision	72
VI. THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA	77
The Executive	77
The Legislature and the Governor's Powers.. .. .	82
The Franchise, Safeguards	89
Restrictions on Discrimination	91
Finance, The State Railways	93
The High Court	96
The Services of the Crown	97
The Excluded Areas	100
Miscellaneous Provisions.. .. .	103

XIV. FOREIGN RELATIONS..	..	..	..	..	..	262
Burma and India..	..	..	..	..	..	263
Burma and China	..	..	..	..	..	270
Chinese in Burma	..	..	..	..	..	278
Burma and Thailand	..	..	..	..	..	285
The Kra Canal	..	..	..	..	..	291
Burma and Japan..	..	..	..	..	..	300
Japan and the Burma Road	..	..	..	..	..	305
XV. BURMA AND THE EMPIRE ..	..	..	..	..	..	313
Burma and the League of Nations	..	..	..	..	..	323
Subsidiary States..	..	..	..	..	..	324
Conclusion	..	..	..	..	..	328
XVI. THE JAPANESE CAMPAIGN IN BURMA..	..	..	..	..	..	331
British Defending Forces	..	..	..	..	..	332
Chinese Forces in Burma	..	..	..	..	..	333
Managing a War..	..	..	..	..	..	335
Enemy Forces	..	..	..	..	..	336
The Campaign	..	..	..	..	..	337
Conclusion	..	..	..	..	..	348
XVII. BURMA UNDER JAPANESE OCCUPATION	..	..	..	..	..	350
Politics and Administration	..	..	..	..	..	351
Industry and Trade	..	..	..	..	..	354
Social Conditions..	..	..	..	..	..	356
Communications	..	..	..	..	..	359
The Army..	..	..	..	..	..	360
Battle for Burma..	..	..	..	..	..	361

Appendices

I. Official Statements on Separation of Burma from India	..	368
II. Anti-Separationist Pamphlet	..	371
III. Commodity and Geographical Distribution of Burma's Foreign Trade and Shipping	..	373
A. Percentage Shares of the Main Groups of Countries Participating in Burma's Export and Import Trade for Five Years Under the Ottawa Trade Agreement	..	373
B. Comparative Statement of Exports of Selected Commodities..	..	374
C. Comparative Statement of the Values of Principal Commodities in the Import Trade	..	375
D. Distribution of the Import Trade of Burma	..	376
E. Percentage Distribution of the Annual Sea-Borne Trade of Burma by Countries	..	377

F. Principal Exports and Imports, 1938-40.. .. .	378
G. Burma's Exports and Imports, 1928-38.. .. .	379
H. Statistics on Passenger and Freight Carryings and Revenues of the Burma Railway, 1926-36	379
I. Shipping in Rangoon Harbor	379
IV. A. Annual Mineral Production in Burma from 1928 to 1937	380
B. Areas Planted to Various Crops, 1934-38	381
V. Statistics on Literacy Among Non-Europeans in Burma ..	382
VI. The U Ba Thi War Resolution, Moved in the Burma House of Representatives on September 2, 1940.. .. .	383
VII. Copy of a War Poster Issued by the Government of Burma in Burmese, with English Translation	384
VIII. A. Cost of Living Index for Rangoon.. .. .	385
B. Average Size of Families and Incomes, Rangoon, Bombay, and Ahmedabad, 1936	385
C. Percentage Distribution of Expenditures among Industrial Workers in Rangoon, 1938	385
D. Statistics on Immigration and Emigration, 1927-37 ..	385
IX. Estimated Revenues and Expenditures of the Government of Burma for the Fiscal Year 1938-39.. .. .	386
A. Estimated Revenue Receipts	386
B. Estimated Expenditures Debitable to Revenue.. ..	387
C. Principal Annual Receipts and Expenditures	388
X. Specimen of Modern Burmese Printing.. .. .	389
BIBLIOGRAPHY.. .. .	390

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS.

Burma : (Key towns) — <i>Frontispiece</i>	.. .. .
Burma : (Communications)	.. . . .
Burma : (Political Divisions)	. . . . .
Diagrammatic sketch of the Burma Railways	. . . . .
South Eastern Asia	. . . . .
Typical Shan Villagers	. . . . .	<i>facing page</i> 96
Something big in hats from the Shan States	.. .. .	96
Water power driven rice mill in the Shan States	. .. . .	97
Moat and wall of the old palace, Mandalay	.. .. .	97
African soldiers of the 7th Nigerian Regiment in Burma	.. .. .	112
Dry weather bamboo bridge in the Shan States	. .. . .	112
U Po Shwey and his wife, a sturdy Pwo Karen couple	. .. . .	113
'Monks are beautiful when they are lean'	.. .. .	113
Old British gun positions at Lancaster Gate, Kohima	.. .. .	160
A bazaar crowd in the Shan States	.. .. .	161
A Burmese boat, of the type which is home to thousands of families, sails along the Irrawaddy	.. .. .	176
Scenes of destruction on battlefield at Myitkyina, Burma	.. .. .	177
Rangoon (map)	.. .. .	216
A typical Burmese pagoda. A Pair of 'lions' or Chinthas seen in front, one male and one female, generally guard the approach to a pagoda	.. .. .	224

A pagoda cloister in ancient Pagan	<i>facing page</i>	225
A Sikh looks at an image of the Lord Buddha, who is here represented in the "earth-touching" attitude by which he called Mother Earth to witness his Enlightenment	" "	240
The great Ava bridge completed in 1935, which carried road and rail traffic over the Irrawaddy near Mandalay .. .	" "	241
Admiral Mountbatten inspecting troops of a Punjab Regiment at Imphal	" "	288
Admiral Mountbatten with Chinese Officers	" "	288
Falls of the Namti, Mongnai State, Southern Shan States. The drop is more than 350 feet	" "	304
Falls of the Nam Pang	" "	336
Panorama front Point 1619 in Arakan. Supply line in foreground	" "	337
The Pongnai Pagoda at sunset in the Shan States	" "	352
Ruins of Tamu Village in the Kabaw Valley, Burma, destroyed by the Japanese.. .. .	" "	353
Burma : (crops)	" "	360
Terrain Model of Burma & Adjacent Areas <i>tailpiece</i>	" "	408
Burma : (Location of Industries).. .. .	" "	418

It may seem odd that it has been left to an American to write what must be the only authoritative book on modern Burma. But it is all to the good that it has been left to an outside observer to fulfil this task; had a British official or business-man undertaken the work he might have been suspect.

Major Christian has no axe to grind. He has faithfully recorded the facts about Burma and has treated his subject with that sympathy and understanding, both of the Burman point of view and of British problems, past and future, which those of us who have the privilege of knowing him would expect.

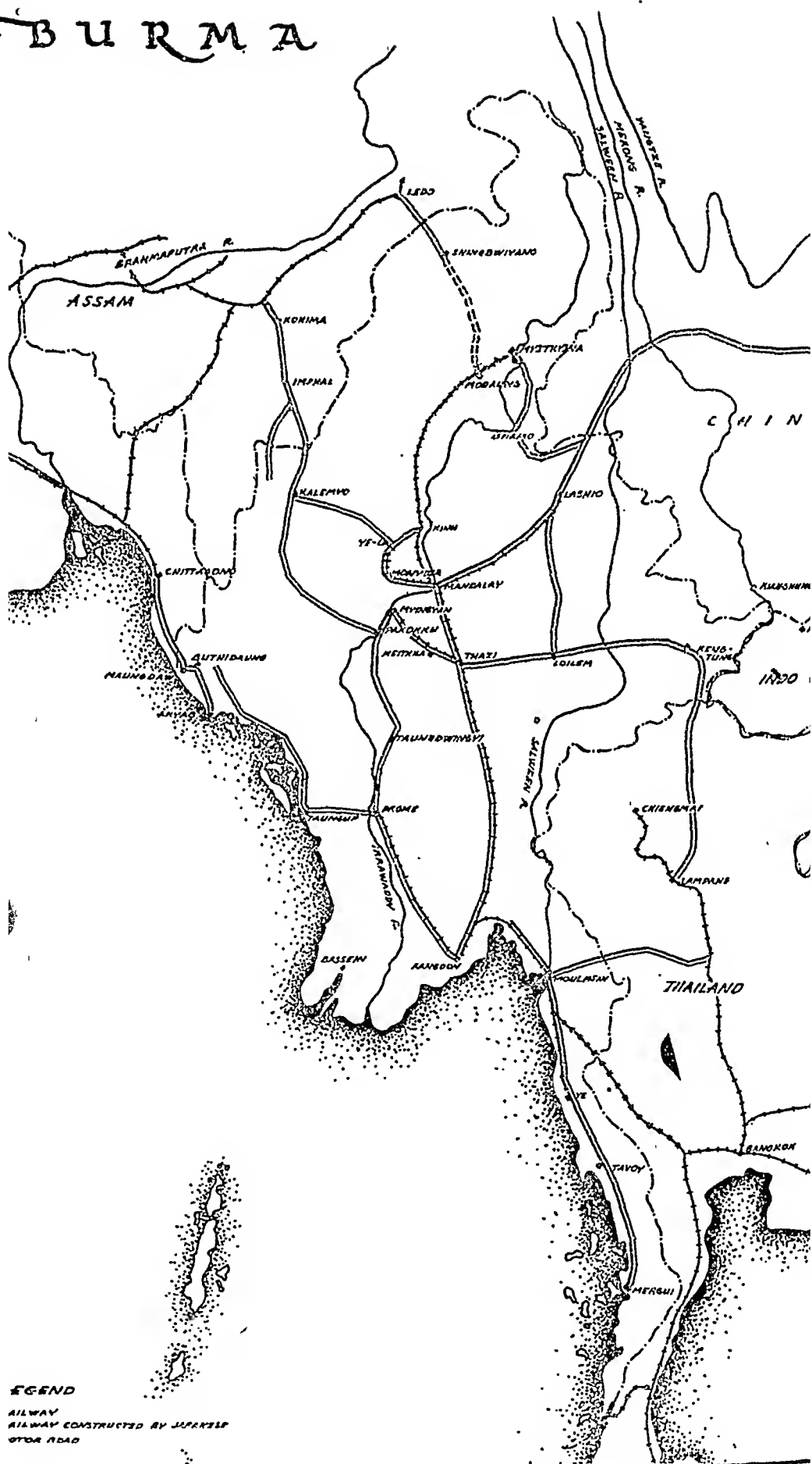
I commend this book to all students of Asiatic affairs; affairs which, in my humble opinion, will assume even greater importance in the future than they did in the past.

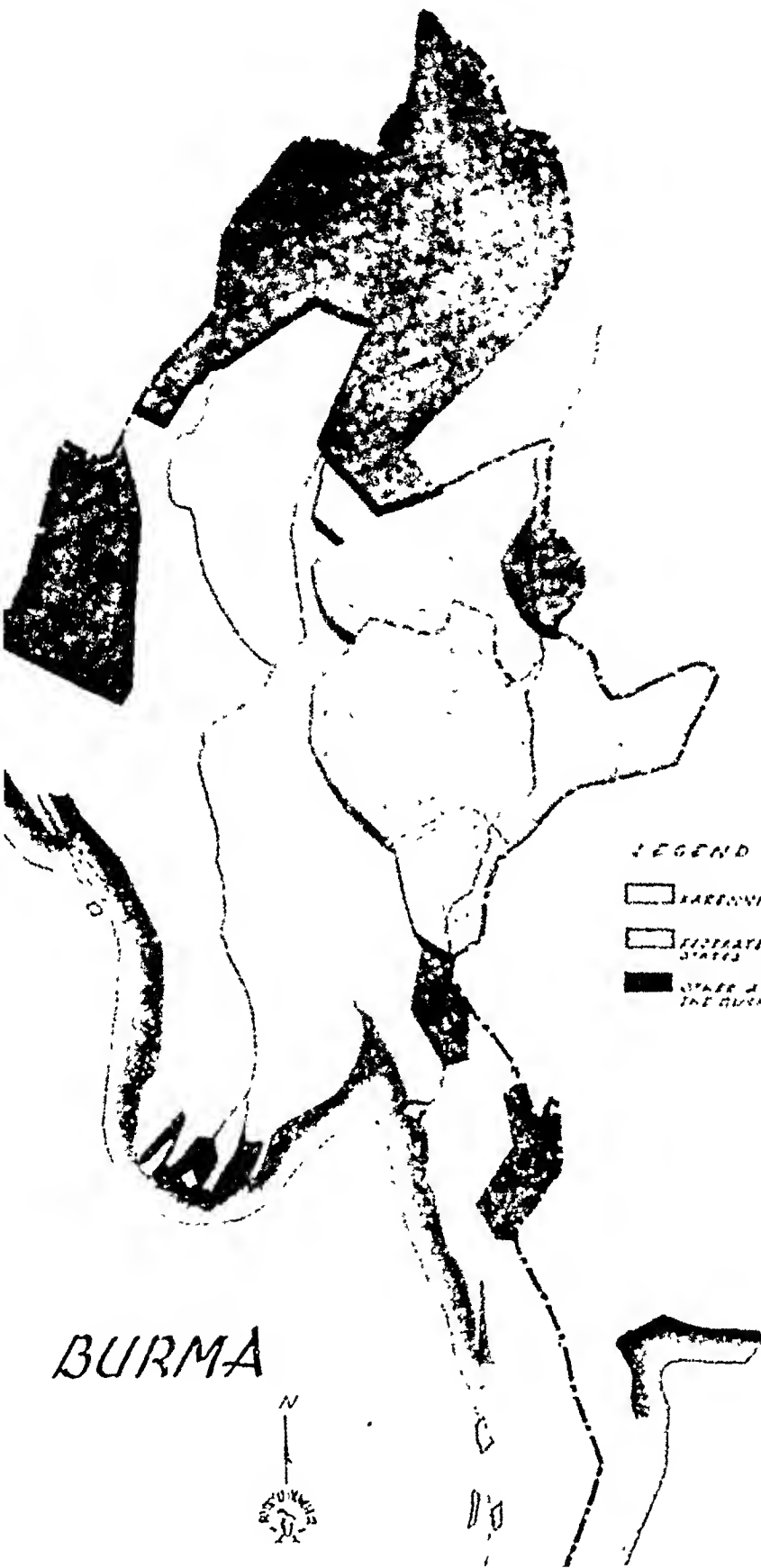
America has, through her missionaries, played a big part in the life of Burma; the more Christians she can send us the better for Burma.

For various reasons Burma has had a bad 'press' in America; mostly, I venture to think, because American and British so-called 'eye-witnesses' of the invasion of Burma by the Japanese have considered it their role to give ever more sensations to a sensation-satiated public. In strong contrast to such accounts Major Christian's book provides a sane and unbiased background to Burma affairs.

As the British Governor of Burma during the Japanese invasion I am honoured to be allowed to write this preface. I only hope that Major Christian will be with us when we go back to liberate Burma from the Japanese and during that time when we will attempt to build a better Burma.

BURMA





LEGEND



TAKEN VI



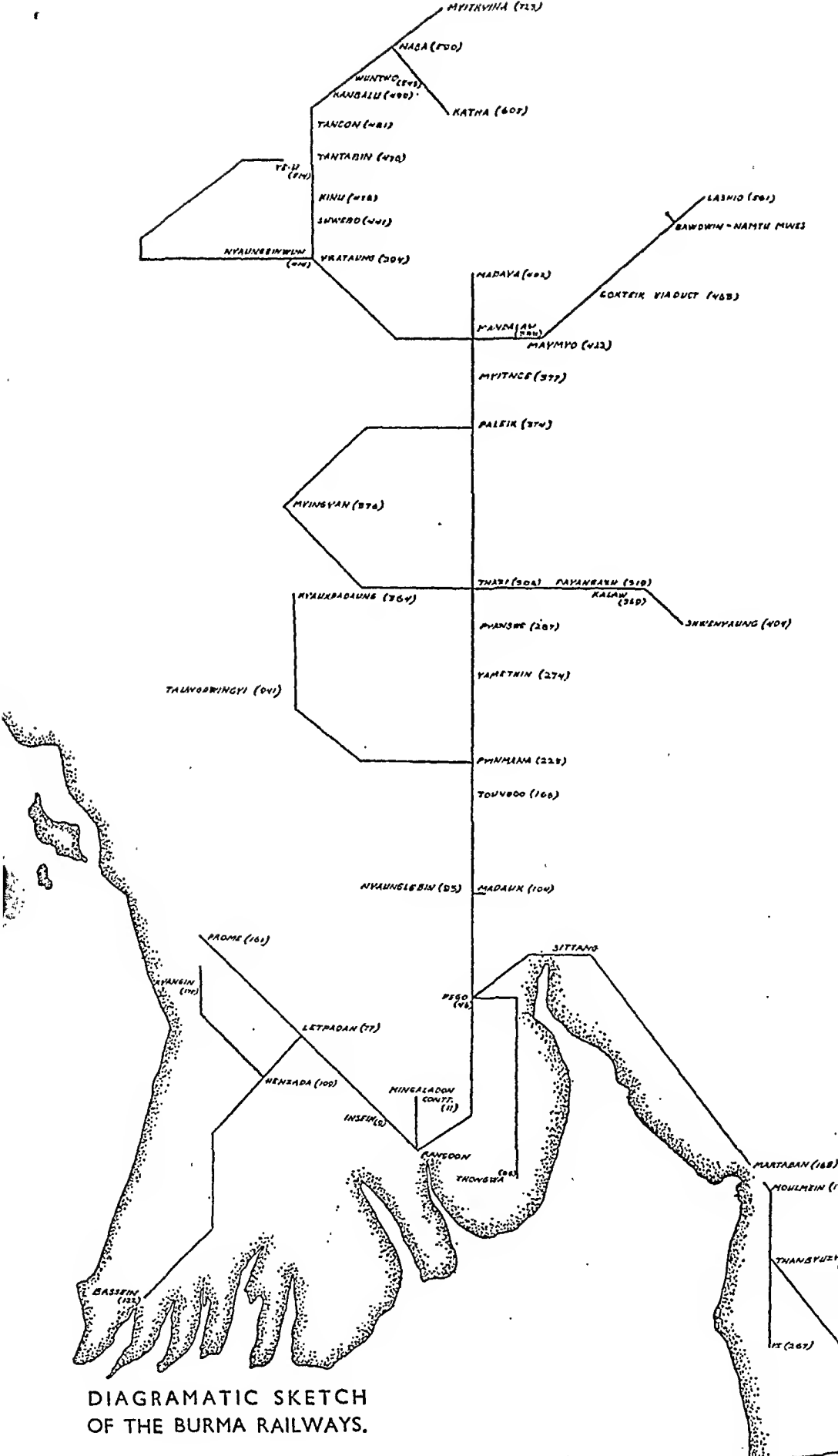
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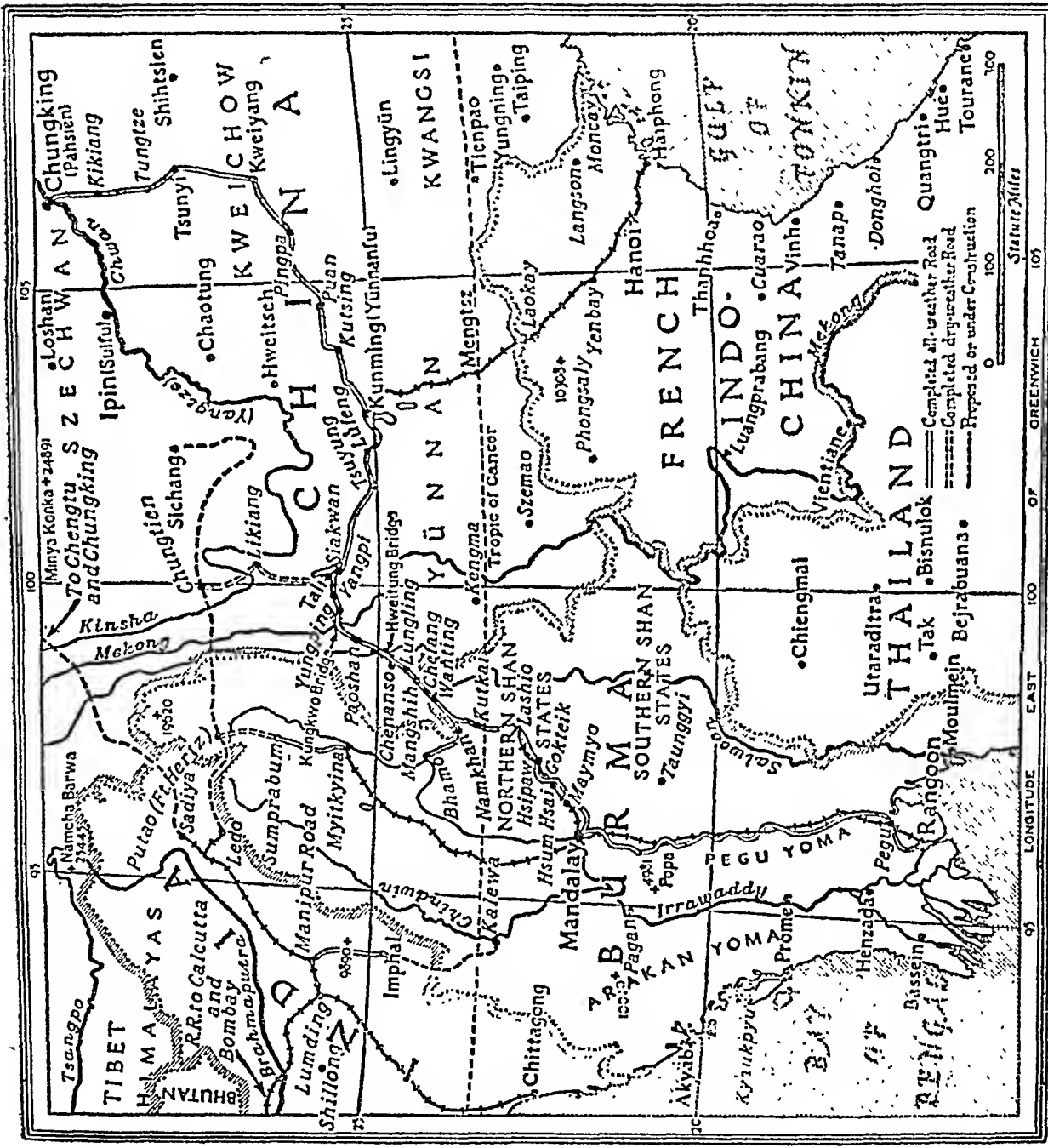
OTHER AREAS NOT UNDER
THE BURMA LEGISLATURE

BURMA





DIAGRAMATIC SKETCH
OF THE BURMA RAILWAYS.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Following India, the United Kingdom, and Nigeria, Burma is the fourth most populous unit of the British empire. In fact, the population of this charming pagoda land is approximately that of Australia and the Union of South Africa combined.

With the arrival in Rangoon during November, 1938 of the British steamer *Stanhall*, bringing from Odessa the first cargo of Russian arms and munitions destined for transport across Burma to the forces of Chiang Kai-shek, Burma's vital importance in the Far Eastern scene came suddenly to the attention of the world. Having been for centuries almost entirely neglected in her quiet backwater at the head of the Bay of Bengal, Burma found herself the center of considerable notice in the world press from Tokyo to London and New York, and a household word in many lands.

As her Treaty Ports came one after another under the Japanese blockade, China herself became aware of the potential usefulness of her southwestern provinces in providing entrepôts for essential war materials. Chinese also remembered that during the brief Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 the caravan routes from Bhamo to Yunnanfu had been used to transport materials which could not then be imported safely through the Treaty Ports.

By late 1937, with her coastal trade under severe restriction, China began construction of the famed Burma Road. The extremely difficult problem of getting motor traffic across the Mekong and Salween valleys was solved within twelve months. A special correspondent for the London *Times* reported after a trip over the road, "Only the Chinese could have done it as well in the time." As many as 300,000 workers were employed at one time on various sections of the road from the Burma frontier to Kunming and on to Chungking. The highway was opened officially on January 10, 1939, having been completed entirely by hand labor. Surveying instruments and dynamite were

perhaps the only modern aids employed by Chinese engineers in its construction; much blasting was done by bamboo tubes filled with powder and detonated with crude fuses. Likewise, China's construction of a railway in Yunnan toward Lashio, the terminus of the Burma Railways, and her offer to construct the line in British Burma to the Lashio railhead, focused considerable world attention upon the country. Today with the Malay Peninsula and Thailand in Japanese hands and Japanese troops in possession of the Netherlands Indies, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and fighting to retain their hold on northern Burma and the frontiers of India the eyes of the world are again fixed anxiously on Burma. Chinese troops, now allied with those of Britain, India, and America and supported by powerful Allied air forces, are moving into Burma to expel the Japanese invader.

Burma again claimed the notice of the world in July, 1940, as Great Britain, in the hour of her life and death struggle in Europe and in response to Japanese pressure, closed the Burma road for a period of three months. Japanese inspectors stationed in French Indo-China had cut China's supply lines from that side; Hongkong, isolated from China by Japanese occupation of the nearby mainland, had ceased to supply China; Burma alone provided the Chinese national government with a backdoor to South Asia and the Indian Ocean.

However, with the strengthening of Britain's position in Europe and with Japan's continuing drive into Indo-China, the Burma Road was re-opened and a steadily increasing flow of war materials from Britain and the United States began to move once more into Free China and Rangoon began to take the place of Hongkong. The fate of Rangoon, the last major gateway into Southwest China, was as momentous as the fate of Singapore itself.

Although her association with India and the British in India has brought the modern world to Burma, the country's future seems most likely to turn toward China and Japan. Burma is of further interest to students of the Far East because of her historic role as a bridge between the civilizations of China and India. This position she has shared with Siam, Cambodia and other areas of the great peninsula of Chin-India. Most competent investigators of the roots of Burmese culture and civilization have been British officials and scholars who, for the most part, came to Burma with minds already conscious of the institutions

of great Mother India. Almost without exception the British officials who saw Burmese civilization in its pristine state observed it through eyes long accustomed to India and with scant knowledge of the Far East as that term is generally understood. A recent Governor of Burma, Sir Archibald Douglas Cochrane, was the first of his line in more than a century who was not a member of the Indian Civil Service or an officer in the British military establishment with long service in India at the time of his appointment as head of the administration in Burma. British colonial officials, although of great ability and integrity, have seldom come to Burma with any direct interest in appraising adequately Burma's relations with the Far East, and relatively few have given evidence of deep interest in things Burmese subsequent to their arrival in Burma.¹

East from Suez to Calcutta, southern Asia is a hungry land. Only when one's ship touches Burma along Asia's southern coast is there a semblance of peace and plenty. Burma is one of the few countries in Asia that have a considerable exportable surplus of food. Her rice exports alone are normally nearly 3,500,000 tons—almost 1,000,000 tons more than the combined export total of Thailand and French Indo-China. Likewise, Burma exports more timber than all the remainder of Asia aside from the Soviet possessions. In addition, her output of petroleum is exceeded on the mainland of Asia only by the yields of Iran and Iraq. She is the largest producer of lead, silver and tungsten (wolfram) in the Orient, and at the beginning of the current Far Eastern upheaval Burma passed China as a supplier of tungsten for the world market. Normally Burma produces some eighty-five per cent of the Empire's tungsten. She has considerable deposits of tin, and her resources in low-grade iron are extensive but undeveloped due to availability of Indian ferrous ores for the Indian steel industry. The country lacks only coal to have the major requisites of a modern industrial civilization. Burma produces in addition cotton, rubber, beans, oilseeds, lac, tung oil, sugar, tobacco, and other products of field and forest in exportable quantities which are capable of considerable

¹Two exceptions are Taw Sein Ko, a Sino-Burmese of Fukienese descent and member of the Archaeological Survey of India, and Edward H. Parker, the distinguished Chinese scholar and formerly Adviser on Chinese Affairs to the Government of Burma. Parker's *Precis of Chinese Imperial and Provincial Annals and State Papers Relating to Burma* and his *Burma with Special Reference to Her Relations with China* (Rangoon, 1893) are now almost unobtainable,

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expansion. There was a net import of some of these products at the time of the Japanese invasion. British India, long known as the brightest gem in the British imperial crown, counted Burma as its richest and most brilliant facet.

An inherent docility common to the peoples of Southeast Asia may account for the paucity of Western interest shown in that part of the world. Should this be the reason, there is every indication that a change is in immediate prospect. In witness of the country's importance Lord Dalhousie, friend of Burma and one of Britain's greatest proconsuls in India, said some eighty years ago, "We cannot afford to be shown to the door anywhere in the East."² A student of the expansion of British power added his observation that "... the condition of the eastern frontier [Burma] caused no Governor-General a single sleepless night."³ Today, however, one suspects that there are many sleepless nights ahead for British, French, and Dutch administrators in colonial Asia.

Quite aside from her significance for China, Britain, and Japan, Burma well deserves study in her own right. While the Burmese, known as the "Irish of the East," may lack the quiet tenacity of the Chinese, they are a virile people more given to direct action than are the Hindu disciples of the contemplative Gandhi. Burma's inclusion in the British Indian Empire from the beginning of the English conquest in 1824 until the separation of Burma from India on April 1, 1937, caused the province to be regarded by the outside world as Indian in character. Nothing could be further from the truth. While Burma did acquire its Buddhist religion and many of its early literary forms and cultural traditions from India, the Burmese for decades have chafed under what they called the Indian yoke. The Burmese are understood best if studied in association with their Far Eastern neighbors of Thailand, China, and French Indo-China rather than with the Anglo-Indic civilization of contemporary Hindustan.

What sort of country is Burma? What was her importance in Britain's imperial scheme of things? Who are the Burmese, and what was their reaction to the part which they were called upon to play in Britain's vital eastern salient of empire guarding

²D. G. E. Hall, ed., *The Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, 1852-1856* (London, 1932), Intro., xix.

³*Ibid.*, xv.

Singapore's flank? Who lives along Kipling's Road to Mandalay, and how important is that road? These questions cannot be neglected in any competent understanding of the new Orient. Knowledge of Burma, its present status and probable development, is important for those who desire an overview of all Asia.

Possibly this study may direct attention to the progress that had been made in the orderly development of Burma's political institutions and the gradual introduction of democracy—the good way of life—into a typical colonial area of Southeast Asia. Quite probably the evolutionary method may offer examples of value in the political administration and economic development of other areas between Suez and Shanghai. Too little attention has been paid to the fact that Burma, in common with the remainder of eastern and southern Asia, contains in no small measure the answer to the question: Should the Occident long maintain a much higher standard of living than the remainder of the world? The answer to this question, with all its vast implications, must be sought in the wise utilization of the abundant tin, oil, timber, rice, iron, coal, rubber, and labor of Asia's southern and eastern shores and islands. The rapid diffusion of technical skill, coupled with the rapid introduction of Western factory establishments and processes into Southeast Asia, makes quite apparent the fact that the area will no longer be content to continue as a supplier of raw materials and a market for finished goods, while the larger profits of the interchange remain in Europe, America or Japan. Let there be political and economic co-operation between the East and the West in southern Asia and mutual profit will result.

Burma is of interest also in view of her unique governmental organization. Although the country may be technically a crown colony, she is in fact in a transition stage from provincial government as a part of India (from 1824 to 1937) to dominion status. During her century of connection with India, Burma was known as a "province." The term "crown colony" was never used with reference to Burma. As is explained in the section on government,⁴ Burma has all the machinery of full self-government, and all responsible British and Burmese political leaders have indicated that full realization of this status is Burma's true goal.

⁴ See below, Chapter VI.

Much water has gone down the Irrawaddy since work was begun on this volume. The declarations which placed the United States and the British Empire in a state of war with Japan have influenced profoundly Burma and the Burmese and brought Rangoon and the highway to China into sharp perspective against the backdrop of global war.

CHAPTER II

BURMA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUNDS

Burma owes its distinctive homogeneity to its geographical situation.¹ Neither Indian nor Chinese, Burma partakes of the culture and life of both her more populous neighbors. The immense mountainous mass of interior Asia, after forming the Himalayan bulwark across northern India, turns south along western Yunnan and forms a tumbled mass of parallel ridges and valleys running southeast through the great peninsula of Indonesia.² Burma occupies the most fertile part of this peninsula and is its only area well provided with extensive natural frontiers and internal communications. At no time has a conqueror from India or Burma passed on to China, or (with one minor exception) from China to India or Burma. Nor did the conquests of any one of the great warriors of medieval Asia embrace any part of both countries.³ Burma's geographical isolation and her frontier protection have been vital factors in her historical development, and remain prime considerations in her politics today.

Despite the fact that Burma is essentially a unitary country, it has two well-defined regions, known as upper and lower Burma.⁴ The latter corresponds roughly to those parts of

¹ A brief but useful description of modern Burma is given in Sir Herbert Thirkell White, *Burma* (Cambridge, 1923), in the Provincial Geographies of India series. Burma receives competent treatment in the writings of L. Dudley Stamp, eminent British geographer and formerly Professor of Geography in Rangoon University. For example see his "The Irrawaddy River," *Geographical Journal*, XCV, No. 5 (May, 1940), 229-56, and "Burma: An Undeveloped Monsoon Country," *Geographical Review*, XX (1930), 86-109.

² A fact first noted in Sir Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission Sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava in 1855* (London, 1858), 272.

³ See Yule's introduction to Captain William Gill, *The River of Golden Sand* (London, 1880).

⁴ Before the Annexation of 1886, Lower Burma was the term applied to British territory, while Upper Burma denoted independent Burma, a distinction supported by Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases* (London, 1903), 131. Alleyne Ireland, *The Province of Burma* (Boston, 1907), divides Burma into four distinct areas: littoral, deltaic, central, sub-montane.

Burma which were brought under British control by the Anglo-Burmese wars of 1824 and 1852 and includes the great plains and deltas of the Irrawaddy, the Sittang, and the lower Salween rivers in addition to the Arakan littoral. Here is centered the great agricultural wealth of Burma, the rice fields which bring Rangoon's annual rice exports to more than 3,000,000 tons and make Burma the world's greatest rice-exporting country.⁵ It includes also the arm of the Tenasserim peninsula with its wealth of tin and timber, a thousand miles of shore line and a thousand islands, reaching down the Malay peninsula toward Singapore.

Upper Burma is quite a different country. It consists, in the main, of the upper Irrawaddy valley and the hill tracts which completely surround Burma on all sides except that formed by the Bay of Bengal. While these mountainous areas are of great significance to students of ethnology and linguistics, they are of relatively slight importance in Burma's economic life. Sir George Scott, whose knowledge of northern Burma's hill regions was unsurpassed, has written that the longitudinal ridges and valleys between the Salween and the Brahmaputra contain "... a collection of races diverse in features, language, and custom such as cannot perhaps be paralleled in any other part of the world."⁶ In the sections of Burma which border Assam, Tibet, Yunnan, French Indo-China, and Siam live the peaceful Shans, the warlike Kachins, the head-hunting Nagas, the wild Was, and the hill tribes of Karenni and the Siamese frontier.

Northern Burma produces most of the mineral wealth of the country, aside from that yielded by the oil fields of the central dry zone and the tin mines of Tenasserim.⁷ In the malarial districts north of the ancient city of Mogaung is mined the emerald-green imperial jade which is so highly prized in China. Burma is famed also as the source of the world's finest rubies. These are produced within an area of some sixty square miles about the city of Mogok, one hundred miles north of Mandalay.⁸

The area of Burma is given as 261,610 square miles, only

⁵ For a charming account of Burma and its peoples see V. C. Scott O'Connor, *The Silken East* (London, 1928).

⁶ J. George Scott and J. P. Hardiman, eds., *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon, 1900), Pt. I, Vol. I, 481. Cited hereinafter as *Upper Burma Gazetteer*.

⁷ For scientific accounts of Burma's geology and minerals see the studies by Harbans Lal Chibber, *The Geology of Burma* (London, 1934), and *The Mineral Resources of Burma* (London, 1934).

⁸ For a brief account of Burma's gem resources see John L. Christian, "The Gem Trade in Southern Asia," *World Affairs Interpreter*, X (January, 1940), 408-16.

slightly smaller than the state of Texas.⁹ Its population in 1931 was 14,667,146. The 1941 census, which had not been completely analyzed before the Japanese invasion, showed that the total population had increased to 16,823,798. Part of the increase is due to the inclusion of certain areas in the census for the first time. On the east, Burma's frontiers march with Yunnan province of China; they are conterminous with French Indo-China for 150 miles and then turn south along a common frontier with Siam for some 800 miles to Victoria Point within 400 miles of Penang. Before the British occupation of Upper Burma in 1886, scant attention was given to Burma's northern borders; in fact the boundary with China was not fully surveyed until 1935 south of Lashio. The northern frontier was not yet been agreed upon.

Rainfall is a factor of the utmost importance in Burma's life. The entire country, the principal divisions of which lie well within the tropics, is subject to the alternate wet and dry seasons of a typical monsoon climate. The rains come in mid-May and continue until mid-October. In all parts of the colony, with the exception of the central dry zone which borders the Irrawaddy from Prome north to Mandalay, the rainfall is bountiful, the average being about 200 inches per year in Arakan, Tenasserim, and in the mountains along the upper reaches of the Irrawaddy and in the hills which form the Chinese frontier.¹⁰ In the dry zone the rainfall is not more than thirty inches per annum and crops are limited to cotton, millet, groundnuts, sesamum seed, and forage crops, except where irrigation has been provided.

In the great Irrawaddy delta and the littoral areas more than 10,000,000 acres are planted to irrigated (paddy) rice. In much of Burma this crop is grown to the exclusion of other products. The yield of paddy is remarkably constant due to the fertility of the soil and the unfailing monsoon rainfall. Throughout much of the hill country there is cultivation of upland rice, known locally as *taungya* cropping, but this is almost entirely for local consumption.

Burma's forests, which were administered by a highly trained

⁹ J. J. Bennison, ed., *Burma*, Vol. XI in *Census of India* (Rangoon, 1933), 6. The census report gives Burma's area as 233,492 sq. mi. but omits the unadministered areas in the northern part of the province.

¹⁰ See Ireland, *op. cit.*, I, 425-32, for statistics on climate and rainfall.

staff of forest officers, are among the most valuable assets of the colony. They are found everywhere throughout the country with the exception of the dry zone and the cultivated coastal plains and deltas. Much of the country was dense jungle growth within the past century, and Burma for decades had in the Irrawaddy delta a frontier with all the possibilities for escape into cheap land which characterized the American frontier. Much of this land was brought under the plow within the past fifty years and Burma has now no large cultivable areas that are not under rice. The Forest Department is operated along quasi-commercial lines and yields a sizable revenue to the Government.¹¹

Under modern conditions, Burma was considered reasonably healthful for Europeans. However, there are many districts where malaria is prevalent, particularly in Tenasserim, Arakan and everywhere below 4,000 feet in the hill tracts. In the days of the early British occupation of Burma it was deadly land for officers and troops.¹² Burma has no mountain resorts to equal such Indian hill stations as Darjeeling, Simla or Mussoorie. The Government hill station is Maymyo at an elevation of 3,200 feet forty-five miles from Mandalay. Other places which provide relief from the trying hot weather of March and April are Kalaw, 4,200 feet; Taunggyi, 5,000 feet; and Mogok, 4,000 feet. Burma is best visited during the cool dry season from November to February.

Burma has only one river system of great importance; the Irrawaddy is navigable for 900 miles, and its principal tributary, the Chindwin, for 400 miles beyond its junction with the main stream below Mandalay. The Irrawaddy Flotilla Company operates a fleet of the largest river steamers in the world (their vessels being 326 feet in length), ensuring comfortable travel in three classes and economical transportation of goods to all river stations between Rangoon and Bhamo, which is within forty miles of the Chinese frontier. It has subsidiary services on the lower Salween and throughout the delta. The Salween, which rises in Tibet and flows through Burma on the Siam side, is not

¹¹ *Report on Forest Administration in Burma* (Rangoon, annually).

¹² See *Parliamentary Papers*, 1842, XXVII (Cmd. 358), *Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among Her Majesty's Troops Serving in Ceylon; the Tenneserim Provinces; and the Burmese Empire*. Most of the British losses were from sickness. The report states, ". . . of 427 men mustered with the 44th Regiment, on the 25th November 1825, 117 died before the same day in the following month, and 253 of the survivors . . . had to be sent to the General Hospital in Calcutta. . . ."

navigable for any great distance due to rapids.¹³ The Sittang, the only other river of consequence, cannot safely be used on account of the famous tidal bore at its mouth. Burma is singularly devoid of lakes of any size. The Indaw and the Indawgyi in northern Burma, and Inle in the Shan States, are the only lakes of importance and they are of value solely as local fisheries.

The delta and the central plains of Burma are the best-known parts of the country. The Pegu and Irrawaddy divisions contain one-third of the total population, but these densely settled regions occupy less than one-eighth the total area of the country. In the Putao district along the northern frontier, mountain peaks attain a height of nearly 20,000 feet. The Chin hills reach an elevation of 10,400 feet in Victoria Peak, within 150 miles of Mandalay. The Pegu Yomas divide the central valleys of the Irrawaddy and the Sittang. The northern peak of this ridge is the extinct volcano of Mount Popa, elevation 4,000 feet; the southernmost elevation forms the base for the Shwedagon pagoda in Rangoon. The great Shan plateau averages some 4,000 feet above the sea, with peaks in South Hsenwi reaching heights of 9,000 feet. The Dawna Range, which separates Burma from Siam opposite the old port of Moulmein, has superb peaks exceeding 6,000 feet in elevation.¹⁴ More than half the country is covered by "... innumerable congeries of spurs abutting from the main system and forming the water courses in the gorges down their flanks [which] have no general direction but appear to be thrown up in eccentric masses perfectly bewildering."¹⁵

Arakan and the Tenasserim coasts of Burma are studded with innumerable islands, most of which are uninhabited and of slight economic importance. The larger Nicobar and Andaman groups lying off southern Burma have never been administered by Burma although they have traded with Burma for cen-

¹³ The Salween was explored fully only within the current decade. See Ronald Kaulback, *Salween* (New York, 1939), and A. Gibaut, "Au Tibet par la Vallée de la Salouen," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, III (1938), 31-36.

¹⁴ The best contour maps of Burma are those prepared by the Survey of India, Calcutta, which were available from the Government Press, Rangoon. All of administered Burma is covered on a scale of 1 inch to 1 mile, most of the maps having been made from surveys executed since 1905.

¹⁵ E. A. Spearman, ed., *British Burma Gazetteer* (Rangoon, 1880), I, 1-31, deals with the physical geography of lower Burma (cited hereinafter as *Gazetteer*). While somewhat obsolete in nomenclature, the treatment is authoritative. For the official account of the geography of upper Burma see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, *op. cit.*, Pt. I, I, 1-28.

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turies; the Nicobars were once a Danish possession, but both groups were now administered by the Government of India. A part of the Andamans were a penal colony, used principally for political prisoners and incorrigibles from India and Burma, but no prisoners have been sent to Port Blair from Burma since 1937 and the penal settlements are being abandoned.

PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES

The difficulty of giving a concise account of the peoples and languages of Burma is enhanced by the fact that no scientific and inclusive ethnographic study of the whole province of Burma has been completed.¹⁶ In 1931 the population density per square mile ranged from 226 in Maubin District to 11 in the Arakan Hill Tracts. The total population increased from 7,722,053 in 1891 to 16,823,798 in 1941, a remarkable increase in a half-century, although partly due to the inclusion of new areas. The 1941 census included for the first time territories previously unadministered and it is estimated that the Kachins in Burma now number over 400,000, the Nagas about 70,000, while the Wa States had 82,000 inhabitants of all races. One should not be too much bewildered by the fact that the Census Report for 1931 lists 126 native languages and dialects in Burma assembled into eleven principal groups. While not entirely synchronous, race and language groups among Burma's indigenous peoples are sufficiently parallel (many who are racially non-Burman use the Burmese language) for the following summaries and generalizations:

<i>Language Group</i>	<i>Subsidiary Dialects</i>	<i>Persons.</i>
Burmese.....	16	9,862,694
Karen.....	17	1,341,066
Tai (Shan).....	11	1,021,917
Kuki-Chin.....	45	343,854
Mon.....	1	305,294
Palaung-Wa.....	11	176,124
Kachin.....	9	153,897
Lolo-Muhso.....	12	93,052
Sak.....	6	35,237
Mro.....	1	14,094
Malay.....	2	6,368

¹⁶ *The Ethnological Survey of Burma* (Rangoon, 1917) is brief and incomplete. The notes by Major J. H. Green and T. P. Dewar in the *Census of Burma, Pt. I, Report*, App. C and D, are valuable. See also *Upper Burma Gazetteer, Pt. I, I. 475, 727*, and previous census reports. Major Green, an officer of long experience on the frontier of Burma, is the foremost living authority on the races of Burma. The decennial census was taken on March 5, 1941, for the first time under direction of a

In addition, 178,316 speak Chinese languages; Indian languages are used by 1,079,820; and 26,866 claim English as their mother tongue.¹⁷ The problem of language in Burma is actually simpler than would appear at first sight. First, nearly 10,000,000 of the 15,000,000 people in Burma have returned Burmese as their mother tongue. The Superintendent of Census Operations has estimated that in 1931 some 67.3 per cent of all residents of Burma used Burmese habitually, while perhaps 70 per cent of the non-Burman population of the country used the language with facility.¹⁸ Moreover, for practical purposes there are only four native languages of importance to the commercial and cultural life of the country, and of these Burmese is beyond measure the most important.¹⁹ These languages are: Burmese, spoken by 9,860,000; Tai (Shan), spoken by 1,021,917; Karen, used by 1,340,000 divided almost equally between Pwo and Sgaw Karens, but containing in addition numerous obscure divisions; and the Kuki-Chin group of languages, spoken by 343,854 people of special interest to linguists. Perhaps 70% of the Karens in the Delta use the language with considerable fluency, but among the Shans, Kachins and other hill peoples barely 10% of the population speak Burmese. The Mons, known also as Talaings or Peguans, are an ancient race of honorable traditions and stalwart physique who have produced many of the leaders of present day Burma, but who are being absorbed rapidly into the Burmese language group. Of the above groups all except the Karens and Chins had written languages and extensive literatures before the arrival of Europeans in Burma.

Only the reluctance of the Burman to enter business prevented Burmese from becoming the universal language of the country. At present, English and the languages of the Indian and Chinese immigrants are used more than Burmese in the commercial life of the colony. English and Burmese are the official languages, and the latter may be used legally everywhere in government service except in the High Court where English only was authorized. Actually, leaders of Burmese political life today use English with ease, many of them with commendable force and dig-

Burman, U Ka Si, I.C.S., having been appointed Superintendent of Census. The 1941 census proposes to include much information on land ownership, labor, immigration, unemployment, and other topics of value to sociologists and economists.

¹⁷ *Census of Burma, Pt. I, Report* (Rangoon, 1933), 198-200.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, 172, for a linguistic map of Burma and the frontispiece for a racial map.

nity. In practice all government offices and courts, above those of township officers, use English generally in reports, hearings, correspondence, and other official business. It is the language of the University, the Post and Telegraph, Excise and Customs Departments, and the Burma Railways. However, the business of land records and revenue is conducted usually through Burmese. Nearly all Chinese in Burma know colloquial Burmese, which is the medium of conversation between Chinese and Indians who are domiciled in the country. Burmese is used generally between Europeans and Chinese who are unacquainted with each other's language. In addition, Hindustani, the *lingua franca* of India, is used widely by all classes in Burma proper.

Burmese is a tonal, monosyllabic language closely akin to Tibetan, in sound and structure, but employing different characters. In point of fact there yet remains much work in exploring the origins and mutations of the Burmese language and race. Burmese grammar is relatively simple when compared with that of other Oriental languages. Fortunately for Occidentals, the written language is based upon an alphabet of ten vowels (some say eight vowels, some say eleven; others deny that Burmese is monosyllabic) and thirty-two consonants rather than upon characters of the Chinese type. Except for the difficulty of mastering its unusual script, Burmese should be no more difficult for a western European to learn than one of the Slavic languages. On the whole, the colloquial language is perhaps no easier to acquire than Chinese or Arabic. Relatively few Westerners master Burmese sufficiently well to speak it with fluency and accuracy, the difficulty being the tonal peculiarities similar to those in Chinese and Siamese, and the involved word order in Burmese sentence. For the foreigner further complications are introduced by the differences in colloquial, classical, and newspaper Burmese. There are available several passable handbooks which guide the European student through the rudiments of the language.²⁰ In general Burmans acquire English better than

²⁰ Useful handbooks for beginning Burmese are R. Grant Browne, *Half the Battle in Burmese* (London, 1910); Maung Po Hla, *The Students' Guide to Burmese Spelling* (Rangoon, 1912); J. A. Stewart, *An Introduction to Colloquial Burmese* (Rangoon, 1937); H. O. Reynolds, *Colloquial Burmese Syntax* (Rangoon, 1935); Taw Sein Ko, *Handbook of the Burmese Language* (Rangoon, 1898 and later editions). The standard Burmese grammars are those by Judson, Bridges, and Lonsdale. The best complete dictionaries are by Judson and U Tun Nyein. Appendix X has a sample of Burmese print.

Europeans learn Burmese. Shan, Karen, and Chin are not so highly developed as Burmese; their literature is much restricted, and they are poorly equipped with dictionaries, grammars, and other aids for the Western student.

Generalizations respecting alleged racial characteristics of entire peoples are seldom justified. Those given here are merely tentative and suggestive, having been current in Burma for decades. The Burmese who occupy central and lower Burma are described by Sir Clement Hindley as “. . . perhaps the most attractive people in the whole of the British Empire.”²¹ They are endowed with delightful qualities of spontaneity, good manners, and buoyancy which has led to the criticism that they are light-hearted, irresponsible and even lacking in perseverance and ambition. The Burman of the cultivator or laboring class is stocky, well muscled and capable of great exertion when he considers it to his advantage to work. He will seldom amass a fortune because of his predilection for the pleasures and good things of the immediate present. Given to charity and religion in his old age, it is said that he is vain and pompous in youth. The Burmese have the reputation of being cruel and vindictive in war, and in peace the country has an unenviable reputation for crimes of violence against persons and property. However, the Burmans of the upper class have delightful manners and un-failing courtesy.

In appearance the Burmese are darker in complexion than the Chinese of the southern provinces. They are in fact the westernmost Mongolians along Asia's southern coast, and as the traveler goes along the Arakan coast toward Chittagong evidences of Indian admixtures become more prominent. Physically more vigorous than many of his neighbors from Siam and South India, the Burman is upstanding, independent, and virile. He has the vitality that indicates that his race has not spent its force. The Burmese have little of the lassitude and resignation to fate which has been considered characteristic of many racial groups in Indo-China and Malaysia.

Many of the adverse judgments levied against the Burmese before 1930 need revision. For example, the Burmese have taken to such labor as stevedoring, and menial tasks in the railways and the timber and rice mills which formerly were performed by Indian immigrants. The Burman is adjusting himself

²¹ In a speech before the East India Association in 1935,

to the increased tempo of modern life. He has considerable natural mechanical ability. Those who were once certain that immigrant Indians and Chinese would divide the Burman's heritage must reconsider their opinions. The Burmese have racial pride, the common birthright of loyalty to a beneficent religion, a language understood by all in Burma proper, and a rising sense of nationalism which presages continued existence and growth as a nation. Taking the long view, one may expect that the racial minorities in Burma are destined to become Burmanized, and the same process is taking place with considerable numbers of the Chinese and Indian immigrants in the country.

The Shans of the northern hills are akin to the Siamese and to the Thai of southern China. Perhaps more slender than the Burmans, of greater ability as traders, their intense individuality has prevented the formation of a strong Thai state. At present the Shans are less acquainted with modern civilization than the Burmese of the plains, but they are an astute people of gentle charm. Although their loyalty to the British Raj is unquestioned, they feel a strong cultural affinity with their Thai brethern in Siam whose king is the only independent Thai ruler and the only independent defender of the Buddhist faith. Standards of literacy and education in the Shan States are less advanced than in Burma, but this disparity is diminishing. Written Shan is on the decline since few Shan books or periodicals are being produced. The Wa and Palaung tribal groups of the Shan hills belong to the Mon Khmer family and are regarded as isolated remnants of Burma's earlier inhabitants who managed to survive the southern migrations of Burmese, Shans, and Karens.²²

The Karens were noted by the first Europeans in Burma as shy, oppressed dwellers in jungle shadows, living in fear of their Burmese or Talaing rulers. During the past century the Karens have become Christians in large numbers, principally adherents of the American Baptist Mission, which in 1931 had 212,990 communicants in Burma.²³ Fortunately the Karens have been the subject of a special investigation which gives a definitive

²² This view is not supported by Scott in *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, I, I, 495, while the latest census lists them as a separate group. Benedict and Shafer on the basis of extensive linguistic studies class the Wa-Palaungs as members of the Mon Khmer group. See Benedict and Shafer, *Sino-Tibetan Linguistics*, Vol. XII, *Burmish-Loloish*, typescript copy in the University of California Library (Berkeley, 1939).

²³ *Census Report*, op. cit., 214.

picture of their racial traditions and characteristics.²⁴ In appearance the Karens tend to be more swarthy than their Burmese neighbors, but the modern Karen who adopts Burmese dress and language is frequently indistinguishable from the Burmese who consider themselves superior to the Karen in every respect. Musical and frequently mystical, the Karen is occasionally subject to erratic moods and temperament. From time to time self-constituted prophets have given rise to numerous schismatic sects among Karen Christians, Buddhists, and animists. Of these the best known are the Maw Lay, Laikai, Selein, Klecbo, and the followers of Thompson Dourmay, a Toungoo Karen who has created considerable uncertainty by attempting to lead Karens from Christianity since 1934.²⁵ The Karens, who once lived almost entirely in the hills, are now most numerous in the Tenasserim, Pegu, Basscin, Salween, and Toungoo divisions of lower Burma. They form the dominant group in the Karenni States, the only Native States in Burma. Karens are numerous also in the hill tracts of Thailand along the Burma frontier.

Chin groups in Burma occupy the hill tracts of the Arakan Yomas, reaching south to the Basscin district and north to the upper reaches of the Chindwin River. More warlike than the Shans or the Karens, they were obstinate enemies during the British pacification of Upper Burma.²⁶ The Chin hills and areas to the north, now an excluded district under the Governor of Burma rather than the Legislature, are perhaps the most backward parts of Burma. No railways and only a few miles of motor highway exist in Chin land or in Arakan. The primitive Chins are animists, given to excessive liquor drinking and other vices. The more civilized Chins are excellent subjects, many of whom serve in the military police and other armed forces of Burma. A close student of Burma has said, "The Chin is of interest because he reveals the material out of which the Buddhism and civilization between them have evolved the Burmese people; the Chin in short is the rough wood out of which the Burman has

²⁴ Harry Ignatius Marshall, *The Karen People of Burma: a Study in Anthropology and Ethnology* (Columbus, Ohio, 1922). See also San C. Po, *Burma and the Karens* (London, 1928). Mrs. Leslie Milne, *The Home of an Eastern Clan* (Oxford, 1924), is an excellent study of the Palaungs of Tawng Peng State in northern Burma.

²⁵ *Rangoon Gazette*, October 7, 1934.

²⁶ Bertram S. Carey and H. N. Tuck, *The Chin Hills: A History of the People, Our Dealings with Them, Their Customs and Manners, and a Gazetteer of Their Country* (Rangoon, 1896).

been carved."²⁷ The Arakanese who live on the Burma coast of the Bay of Bengal are basically Burmese who have been influenced by centuries of contact with Moslem India.

Another racial group whose numbers exceed 400,000 is the Kachin. These raiding tribesmen from the north were making their way southward into upper Burma when the British replaced Theebaw in 1885. They are now settled in the region about Bhamo and north to the Hukowng Valley; they have been seen also far south in Mong Mit and Hsenwi States within one hundred miles of Mandalay. During the World War some of them served with other Burmese units in the Mesopotamia campaign against the Turks, and in the post-War period they have been used in increasing numbers in the military forces.²⁸ Throughout the Japanese occupation they remained actively pro-British in their distant hills.

Of the other racial septs in Burma, none exceeds 100,000 in number and none is at the moment of force in Burma's commercial or political life. Many of the lesser tribes of the northern hills are at present primitive due to force of circumstances, but have considerable native ability and promise. Among these should be mentioned the Lisw, Yaw Yin, Lahu, Lisaw and others. Burma has no true aboriginal peoples, no savages, no cannibal tribes, and no peoples who are truly primitive in an anthropological sense. Formerly it was believed that the wild Was were cannibals; we now know that they were merely head-hunters, and according to official reports this practice has been abandoned.²⁹ Head hunting is not entirely an abandoned practice among the Nagas of the Assam frontier. An official report of 1942 said, somewhat quaintly, "Except for several big head-hunting raids the tribesmen were friendly." And again, "I was however, able to find several human sacrificing villages for having carried out sacrifices in 1940-41 and much regarding of roads was done." A unique group who have been on exhibition in Europe and America are the Padaungs who live in the protected Karenni States; these are the people whose womenfolk are the famous "brass-necked ladies," women wearing coils of heavy brass wire which stretch their necks until they resemble

²⁷ O'Connor, *The Silken East*, *op. cit.*, 36.

²⁸ See notes by the officer who recruited the Kachin units, C. M. Enriquez, *A Burmese Arcady* (London, 1923).

²⁹ Good private authority insists that the Was of Meng-Meng and Bana, across the frontier in Yunnan, collected heads in 1940,

champagne bottles.³⁰

Burma, in common with India, has considerable numbers of mixed races. Of these the most influential are the Anglo-Indians or Eurasians. Anglo-Indians in Burma are, in the main, immigrants from India where they are descendants of unions between Europeans and Indians during the centuries since Occidentals came east of Suez. Many Anglo-Indians bear names famous in the history of Britain in India. For decades they have found employment in the Railways, Post and Telegraph, Excise, and Customs Departments and in the various subordinate services. While numerous Anglo-Indians have risen to places of great responsibility in government service, the community as a whole has fallen upon evil days. A smaller group are the Anglo-Burmans who are more recent descendants of European fathers and Burmese mothers. Many of this group, which tends to merge with the Anglo-Indians, have likewise risen to places of prominence and influence in public life. These groups, with the domiciled Europeans, are losing their former privileged positions as Burmese competition for government appointments becomes more insistent. Leaders of these communities have advised the Anglo-Burman to identify himself with the Burmans rather than with the Europeans; this advice is probably sound in view of the growth of national feeling in Burma.

Popular books descriptive of Burma have a tendency to emphasize the exotic and unusual among the races of Burma. The civilization of the country is pre-eminently Anglo-Burmese and is consistently being absorbed and unified by the Burmese and subsidiary groups. The discordant elements in the country are supplied by its immigrants, and of these the various Indian groups are the least assimilable. The Chinese in the country find much in common with Burma's own peoples. Actually, everywhere except in the hill tracts which surround Burma proper, the Burmans are the dominant group and, despite occasional Burmese-Karen or Burmese-Shan friction, instances of racial conflict among the indigenous peoples of Burma have been rare indeed since the establishment of British control.³¹

³⁰ For pictures of the Padaungs see John L. Christian, "Golden Burma," *Foreign Travel*, XXXV (March 1939), 8-12.

³¹ The racial map in the *Burma Census Report*, *op. cit.*, demonstrates graphically the preponderance of the Burmese in all parts of Burma proper.

CHAPTER III

BURMA: ITS HISTORY

HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS

Some progress has been made in determining Burma's history through the dim centuries up to the beginning of the British connection. The standard book on the period is Harvey's *History of Burma*.¹ Harvey's bibliography of 270 items is made up of sources from European languages, with the exception of twenty-two works in Burmese, and he has made excellent use of the materials which he has consulted. A critical reading of Harvey leaves some doubt of the correctness of Sir Richard Carnac Temple's opinion that the book, in addition to being a work of scholarship, is also "... a singularly sympathetic study of people of Burma."² The final chapter gives the unmistakable impression that Harvey's attitude is essentially that "... of sovrän Europe who holds the East in fee and all the world besides." The great service of this pioneer among scientific histories of Burma is its collection of references to all the principal sources for Burma's history before 1824, with the exception of certain Chinese sources.³ His book ends with the sentence: "A few weeks later [1824] English transports drew alongside the Rangoon stockade." There is no adequate history of Burma to carry the story beyond that point.⁴ An Indian historian has published two excellent studies based upon the original sources: Anil Chandra Banerjee, *The Eastern Frontier*

¹ G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma from the Earliest Times to 10 March 1824, the Beginning of the English Conquest* (London, 1925).

² Harvey, *op. cit.*, Intro., VII.

³ These are cited fully in the special Chinese issue of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (hereinafter cited as JBRS), XIV (1924), 87-205, edited by G. H. Luce. See also Luce's "Chinese Invasions of Burma in the 18th Century," JBRS, XV (1924), 115-28. Luce's work is based principally upon the Twenty-four Dynastic Histories and pertinent translations therefrom by Pelliot in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, T. IV (Paris, 1904). Pelliot's references to Burma in the *T'oung Pao* series, *passim*, are noted also.

⁴ Harvey has contributed the brief sections on Burma in the *Cambridge History of India* (London, 1922-37), V, 558-69, and VI, 432-7.

of *British India* (Calcutta, 1943) and *Annexation of Burma* (Calcutta, 1944). They deal with the period from about 1780 to the fall of Thebaw. The first volume tells us much about the Shan (Ahom) Kingdom in Assam.

Perhaps the most exact work which has yet been done with a segment of Burma's history is Hall's study of early British contacts with the land of pagodas.⁵ Dr. Hall, a member of the Indian Education Service and until 1934 Professor of History in Rangoon University, has given a painstaking account of the period from 1587 when Fitch, the first Britisher to visit Burma, reached the coast near the present city of Bassein, to 1743 when the Talaings destroyed the East India Company's factory at Syriam. His study has the advantage of being based upon the seventy-two volumes of Original Correspondence which form, along with the Court Minutes, the main body of evidence for the history of the East India Company in Burma in the seventeenth century.⁶ A study of Hall's bibliography gives some idea of the immense quantity of material which was worked over in the preparation of his work. The several sketches of Burmese history which have appeared are based for the period before 1800 almost entirely upon Dalrymple,⁷ which is known to be deficient and fragmentary.⁸ Materials which have been handled so ably by Harvey and Hall, both of whom are highly respected former members of the British services in Burma, are here dealt with only incidentally. Their extensive bibliographies are invaluable guides to the materials from which the history of Burma before 1824 is written.⁹

⁵ D. G. E. Hall, *Early British Intercourse with Burma, 1587-1783* (London, 1928).

⁶ *The East India Company's Original Correspondence from India with Collateral Documents Originating at Any Place between India and Japan* (in the India Office, London), and *General Records: Court Minutes* (published to 1666, ms. thereafter). The Madras Government has published extensive collections of its records before 1800, including much Burma material. See William Foster, *A Guide to India Office Records, 1600-1858* (London, 1919), for concise information on "... probably the best historical materials in the world." Madras archives have 20 volumes of letters on the first Anglo-Burmese war and an additional 29 volumes on equipment of troops in the war. See Foster, *op. cit.*, 29, 79.

⁷ A. Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory* (London, 1793-1808). The Government Press, Rangoon, reprinted in 1926 Dalrymple's references to Burma.

⁸ For example, see Sir Arthur Phayre, *A History of Burma* (London, 1883), and Sir George Scott, *Burma from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1924). Scott, who was one of Britain's most distinguished administrators and an authority on Burma, wrote in his preface "... parts of the narrative are flippant."

⁹ The present writer had the good fortune to know both Hall and Harvey during their service in Burma.

Before proceeding with a brief summary of Burmese history something should be said for the vernacular histories of Burma. As Harvey points out, "It has too long been the fashion to deny the existence of historical material in Burma."¹⁰ A study of Duroiselle's *Epigraphia Birmanica*¹¹ and the publication of the Burma department of the Archaeological Survey of India gives some idea of the wealth of inscriptions in Burma, particularly for the period after the 10th century.¹² Certainly no other country in Indo-China has so impressive a body of historical materials. The standard indigenous histories are discussed at length by Harvey,¹³ and there is no need to mention more than two: the *Hmannan Yazawin*, the official history as compiled by a committee of Burmese scholars appointed by King Bagyidaw in 1829 and covering the period to 1752, and the *Konbaungset Mahayazawia*, which deals with the subsequent story and was compiled by Burmese chronicles as ordered by King Mindon in 1867.¹⁴

THE PRE-BRITISH PERIOD

The early history of Burma is the history of the migrations of the peoples who are now at home on its plains and hills. Hardly a trace remains of the aboriginal inhabitants. Hundreds of stone implements have been found in Burma, but no more than fourteen bronze or copper antiquities.¹⁵ It is quite generally agreed that the Burmese, and the affiliated races with which they have amalgamated, came to Burma in the main from the

¹⁰ Harvey, *op. cit.*, Intro., xvi.

¹¹ Charles Duroiselle, *Epigraphia Birmanica* (six volumes issued at intervals by the Government Press, Rangoon, 1919-28). G. H. Luce and Pe Maung Tin, *Portfolio of Inscriptions of Burma*, is an improvement on Duroiselle's earlier work.

¹² Charles Duroiselle, *A List of Inscriptions Found in Burma* (Rangoon, 1921). Six volumes of *Inscriptions*, in Burmese, published by the Government Press, Rangoon, 1892-1913.

¹³ Harvey, *op. cit.*, Intro., xvi-xx.

¹⁴ U Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, of Rangoon University, have published a portion of the *Hmannan Yazawin* in English translation, dealing with the golden age of Burma which ended with the fall of Pagan to Kublai Khan in 1287. See *The Glass Palace Chronicles* (Oxford, 1923). The *Konbaungset* is available only in Burmese. The standard edition was printed in Mandalay in 1905. The complete *Hmannan Yazawin* in Burmese was published in Mandalay in 1908.

¹⁵ See T. O. Morris, "The Prehistoric Stone Implements of Burma," *JBRs*, XXV (1935), 1-39, and, by the same author, "Copper and Bronze Antiquities from Burma," *ibid.*, XXVIII (1938), 95-9. See also Hellmut de Terra and Hallam Movius, Jr., "Research on Early Man in Burma," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n. s. XXX, Pt. II, 265-436 (Philadelphia, 1943).

highlands of eastern Tibet and western China.¹⁶ The Shans reached their present plateaus by the thirteenth century whereas the Kachins had not completed their tribal movements when the British annexed the hills about Bhamo in 1886. Today the Chinese are moving southward into the hill country of North Hsenwi State. During the past two decades numerous Chinese villages between Kutkai and Namkham, and elsewhere in the Northern Shan States, have been settled by immigrants from Yunnan. In short, northern Burma has been for centuries the bridge for racial migrations or the temporary home for most of the peoples who now inhabit much of the great peninsula of Chin-India. Based upon his study of the history of the T'ang dynasty, Luce has stated, "The Burmans, I imagine, came down from the hills of the Northern Shan States into the plains of Burma from 839 A.D. onward."¹⁷ In his recent booklet *The Burmese Scene* (London, 1943 ?) Maurice Collis has said, "The Burmese era dates from March A.D. 638," but gives us no evidence.

While the record of Burma's history before the 10th century is sketchy, there are numerous records of contact between India and China. No inscriptions antedating 500 A.D. have been found, and Burmese inscriptions begin with the Myazedi stone about 1100 A.D.¹⁸ It is believed that the first overseas visitors to Burma came by way of the Coromandel Coast of India. By the ninth century Arab traders reached the mouths of the Irrawaddy, which at that time were below Prome, one hundred miles from the present coast line.¹⁹ Remains of the period of dominant Indic culture are still visible in the great pagodas of Hmawza, near Prome, and in Prome, Pegu, and in ruined sites along the Arakan and Thaton coasts. Indian culture was never so firmly seated in Burma as among the Chams and Khmers in Cambodia and Siam to the east. While Burma has numerous

¹⁶ All authorities are agreed that Burmese is closely related to Tibetan. Benedict and Shafer, *op. cit.*, believe that the Burmese came down the N'mai Kha tributary of the Irrawaddy, and this view is supported on historical grounds by numerous authorities.

¹⁷ G. H. Luce, "Burma's Debt to Pagan," *JBRs*, XXII (1932), 120-7.

¹⁸ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 4. The Pyu urn inscriptions dating back to the 7th century are the only important examples of pre-Burman epigraphs thus far discovered.

¹⁹ See M. Sidiq Khan, "Muslim Intercourse with Burma," *Islamic Culture*, X (1936), 409-25. Recent scholarship has cast doubt on the belief that the Irrawaddy coast line of Burma has changed greatly. Cf. B. R. Pearn, *History of Rangoon* (Rangoon, 1939), 13, n. 1, and map in Harvey, *op. cit.*, 2.

sites of ruined cities, it has no Angkor-Thom. It has been quite definitely established that whereas Burma's racial ties are with China, her early cultural affinities are with India. However, the word Burma is derived from the Chinese "Mein" rather than from the Indian "Brahma."

Meantime contacts had been made with China. It is recorded that during the T'ang dynasty a Burmese embassy, accompanied by a representative of the Shan kingdom of Nanchao in what is now Yunnan, visited China.²⁰ It is supposed that the presence of the kingdom of Nanchao as a barrier state, combined with China's remoteness, accounts for the paucity of China's influence upon Burma before the time of Kublai Khan.²¹

Ari Buddhism found its way across the Bay of Bengal and down the peninsula to Burma to become the religion of the esoteric until it was replaced by Hinayana Buddhism following Anawrahta's conquest of Thaton, then the leading city of lower Burma, in 1057.²² Anawrahta (1044-77) was the great unifier of Burma and the popularizer of Buddhism. From his time a well-integrated historical narrative is possible. He conquered Arakan in addition to Thaton, while his troops went as far afield as Tali in Yunnan. With him written Burmese in a form closely akin to the present characters came into use. He built Pagan which became one of the great royal cities of Asia despite the fact that it was situated in the inhospitable dry zone of central Burma.²³

By the thirteenth century Pagan declined in strength and fell to the armies of Kublai Khan in 1287. The Mongols invaded the country, but established no permanent suzerainty south of the Bhamo pass. During the chaos resultant upon the withdrawal of the hordes from the north, Burma became the prey

²⁰ The entire problem of Burma's contacts with China is dealt with in E. R. Parker, *Burma with Special Reference to Her Relations with China* (Rangoon, 1893). See also G. H. Luce, "The Ancient Pyu," *JBRs*, XXVII (1937), 239-53, for sources on Burma's relations with China to the fall of Pagan, 1287. In Kuo Tsung-fei, "A Brief History of the Trade Routes Between Burma, Indo-China and Yunnan," *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, XII (1941), 9-32, the major emphasis, with references to Chinese sources, is on Sino-Burmese overland contacts before 1600. A Japanese account of the period before the Manchu dynasty is Jinichi Yano, "Biruma no Shina ni Taisuro Choko Kankei ni Tsuite," *Toyo Gakuhō*, XVII (1928), 1-39.

²¹ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 15. See *ibid.*, 14, for a poem by Po-Chu-I upon the occasion of a Burmese *pwe* at the Chinese Court in 802 A.D.

²² See Ranjan Ray Nihar, "Early Traces of Buddhism in Burma," *Journal of the Greater Indian Society*, VI (1939), 1-52, 99-123, for an optimistic account of Buddhism in Burma during the years 250 B.C.—1057 A.D.

²³ For a popular description of Pagan see V. C. Scott O'Connor, *Mandalay and Other Cities of Burma* (London, 1907), 215-96.

of raiding Shan tribesmen. Lack of cohesion has been always a characteristic of the Shans, and under their influence Burma became divided into three states with capitals at Ava, Toungoo, and either Pegu or Martaban. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth century the Talaing kingdom of Pegu enjoyed a measure of prosperity, as noted in the accounts of de Conti, di Varthema, di Stephano, Balbi and other European adventurers who reached Burma. Upper Burma remained disorganized, the spoil of any local chieftain who could assert himself above his fellows, with Toungoo gradually becoming ascendant over Ava until under Minkyinyo's rule (1486-1531) it became the premier state in Burma.²⁴

Before his assassination in 1550, Tabinshweti, son of Minkyinyo, seized Pegu, Prome, and Martaban, and even led his troops into Siam; he was recognized as the king of all Burma north to Pagan. Corrupted, it is said, by his association with Portuguese *feringhi*, Tabinshweti was done to death in the deltaic jungle. The throne of Burma passed to Bayinnaung, the "Napoleon of Burma," whose conquests extended to Manipur and Yunnan on the north and the Mekong, Chiengmai and Ayuthia on the east. Bayinnaung (1550-81) exhausted Burma with his campaigns, the most devastating being those which began the series of Burmo-Siamese wars which continued intermittently for two hundred years.²⁵ Bayinnaung, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth and the Emperor Akbar, twice reduced Ayuthia by siege and destroyed Chiengmai (known to the Burmese as Zimme) which was at that time an independent Thai state on the upper reaches of the Menam.²⁶

After Bayinnaung's death Burma lapsed into a century of chaos during which time the first European trading ventures, aside from the scattered attempts by the Portuguese, were undertaken. The British, French, and Dutch East India companies then active in India were interested in Burma principally as a source of teakwood for shipbuilding. An interesting interlude

²⁴ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 124. Ruins of the moat which surrounded the old Toungoo capital may be traced clearly at the point where the railway line from Rangoon enters modern Toungoo.

²⁵ See U Aung Thein, "Intercourse between Burma and Siam," a translation from the *Royal Autograph History of Siam*, JBRS, XXV (1935), XXVIII (1938), 109-76. U Aung Thein published more completely in *Journal of the Siam Society*, *passim*, under the name Luang Phraison Salark.

²⁶ M. Camille Notton, trans., *Annales du Siam*, III, *Chronique de Xieng Mai* (Paris, 1932).

of the times was the attempt by the Portuguese de Brito to carve out an independent kingdom in Burma about 1600; he had more success than did Phaulkon in Siam a half century later. Disturbed conditions in lower Burma during the period made permanent foreign trading settlements unprofitable, if not impossible. In addition, Burma was outside the interests of the spice trade, and it produced little else that would justify Europeans in braving the dangers of an erratic government.²⁷ Hall's summary of British trade with Burma during the period 1587-1743 indicates that it was " . . . tentative, hesitating, fluctuating, and mainly unsuccessful."²⁸ And Britain had more trade with Burma than did either France or Holland. The British East India Company had factories at one time or another in Syriam (near Rangoon), at Negrais, at Bassein, and for short time at Ava.²⁹

By 1752 Alaungpaya, hereditary *thugyi* of Shwebo, had risen against the feeble rulers of the last Talaing kingdom which attempted to control northern Burma. At the beginning of 1754 Alaungpaya was well on the way toward his conquest of all Burma, the first step being to secure the allegiance of upper Burma as far as the Yunnan frontier. Alaungpaya's tide of conquest soon turned south, and by February, 1755 he was before the gates of Prome. In May he took the famed Shwedagon pagoda from the Talaings and named the surrounding village Rangoon, "the end of the war." Thus Alaungpaya, having established a bloody sort of unity in Burma, became its national hero and the founder of its last dynasty of kings that ruled until Theebaw and Supayalat were exiled in 1885.

The East India Company, then engaged in its great struggle with the French for supremacy in India, gave aid to Alaungpaya while the French supported the Talaings.³⁰ Alaungpaya's success in lower Burma was complete. He secured quantities of French cannon and numbers of French artillerymen, all of which gave the Burmese the advantage over their rivals in South-east Asia for a generation and enabled them to sack Pegu, invest

²⁷ Hall, *op. cit.*, gives sources for detailed information on early European trade with Burma; see also Hall's "The Dagregister of Batavia and Dutch Trade with Burma in the 17th Century," JBRS, XXIX (1939), 139-56.

²⁸ Hall, *Early British Intercourse with Burma, cit.*, 6.

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³⁰ See Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, I, 200-26; Harvey, *op. cit.*, 223 *et seq.*, and Pierre Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et a la Chine* (Paris, 1782), II, 38-54.

Ayuthia, and repel the great Chinese invasion of 1769.³¹ During Alaungpaya's reign Burma first entertained British envoys, aside from the unsuccessful missions of Fleetwood and Bowyre.³² Before him " . . . French and English captains kneeled to receive his orders in respectful silence."³³

Burma entered the nineteenth century under the successive reigns of three sons of Alaungpaya, who ruled from 1760 to 1819, with a brief interlude when the peacock throne was held in Ava by Singu, a grandson. During this period Burmese armies twice invaded Siam, repelled Chinese invasions, conquered Arakan, raided Manipur, and established a murderous control over sections of Assam. "They fought and died by hundreds and thousands leaving their bones to bleach from Junkceylon to the banks of the Brahmaputra."³⁴ The Burmese conquerors were not constructive; the taking of slaves and booty and the complete devastation of enemy territory were their objects, and desolation the result.

THE BRITISH CONNECTION

Under Bodawpaya (1782-1819) the Burmese Empire reached its greatest limits, extending from Tenasserim to Assam. The Burmese became convinced that their arms and strategy were invincible. At the same time merchant adventurers and early British envoys returned with an exaggerated account of the power and wealth of Burma. Colonel Michael Symes, sent as envoy to Burma in 1795 and again in 1802, was the principal offender. He estimated the population at 17,000,000 whereas Crawford shows that it could not have been more than 4,000,000.³⁵ Captain Hiram Cox, who was sent to Ava in 1797, presented a balanced picture of Burma which was discredited by his superiors in India.³⁶ Burma's era of expansion was concurrent with the growth of British power in India; thus the British had as a neighbor a state powerful and ambitious, glory-

³¹ For information on one of the Frenchmen see U Ka, "Tombstone of the Chevalier Milard 1778," JBRS, XV (1925), 73-6.

³² Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, II, 337-405.

³³ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 243.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 259.

³⁵ Michael Symes, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava Sent by the Governor-General of India in the Year 1795* (London, 1800), II, 353, and John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General to the Court of Ava in 1827* (London, 1829), 464.

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ing in its conquest of Siam and its defeat of the Chinese invasions of 1765-69. Consequently the stage was set for the clash which came over the ill-defined frontier between Arakan and Bengal.

THE FIRST ANGLO-BURMESE WAR, 1824

Professor Ramsay Muir has observed that there is " . . . probably no part of the history of India upon which less material is easily available than the first Burmese War."³⁷ However, we have the remarkably complete *Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War*, which was edited in Calcutta in 1827 by Horace Hayman Wilson; the leading British scholar in India at the time. Wilson compiled his 341 pages from government papers with the expressed intention " . . . to provide and preserve materials for the Historian." There are also extant twelve volumes on the war which were written by contemporaries, most of them participants. On the other hand, the second and third Anglo-Burmese wars have no definitive military or political accounts. There are only six books on the second war, three of them rambling studies by Colonel W. F. B. Laurie.

A Burmese attack upon British outposts across the Naaf estuary, which then as now formed the Bengal-Burma frontier, in consequence of the British refusal to accede to Burma's demand for payment of toll on all boats passing up the river, led to the outbreak of the war.³⁸ The Burmese forces scored some initial successes over the Bengal Native Infantry, but upon the arrival of British transports at Rangoon on May 10, 1824, after a rendezvous at Port Cornwallis in the Andaman Islands, the Burmese were taken in an unexpected quarter.³⁹ By December the Burmese, after repeated defeats, withdrew to Danubyu, midway between Rangoon and Prome. Here Maha Bandula,

³⁷ Quoted in Vincent A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (Oxford, 1921), 654.

³⁸ Wilson, *op. cit.*, contains all the important materials on the frontier clashes and Burmese aggression which led to the declaration of war on March 5, 1824, at Fort William. For Lord Amherst's long manifesto summarizing the reasons for the declaration see *British and Foreign State Papers, 1823-1824*, XI, 849-51. *Two Years in Ava* [Captain Thomas Abercrombie Trant] (London, 1827) is a good contemporary account.

³⁹ See *Gazetteer*, I, 327-43, for a concise account of the war. For naval aspects of the war, see J. Marshall, *Narrative of the Naval Operations in Ava, During the Burmese War, in the Years 1824, 1825, and 1826* (London, 1830). See also Christopher Lloyd, *Captain Marryat and the Old Navy* (London, 1939). Marryat, the novelist, commanded the naval forces in Ava, which included the *Diana*, first steam vessel in the Orient.

Burma's greatest general, met death from a British rocket on April 2, 1825, and with him perished the Burmese hopes for victory.⁴⁰

Meantime, by early 1825 the Burmese had been driven from Assam, Manipur, Cachar, and Arakan. The British forces under command of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell advanced to Yandabo, forty-five miles from Ava, and there on February 24, 1826, was signed the treaty of Yandabo, which ended Britain's "... most expensive and harassing war in India," and the first in which Indian troops were utilized overseas.⁴¹ Both sides were eager for peace. The war had grown most unpopular in India and in England: Lord Amherst was criticized and charges were made against the "grasping covetousness" of the East India Company.⁴² Britain's losses in men and treasure were considerable. Robertson reported that the monthly expense for transport alone was £70,000.⁴³ The total expense of the war was some £5,000,000 of which £1,000,000 was at length recovered from the Burmese by indemnity.⁴⁴ Of 3,586 British troops who landed in Rangoon on the first expedition, 3,115 were buried in Burma of wounds and disease, only 150 being killed in action. In all 40,000 troops were employed in the Burmese campaign; 15,000 of these died in Burma. Civilians fared no better.⁴⁵

By the terms of the treaty of Yandabo, Burma undertook to sign a commercial treaty, to accept a Resident in Ava, to cede the coastal provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, and to renounce all claims to Assam, Cachar, and Manipur.⁴⁶ In pursuance of Article VII of the treaty, John Crawford, formerly an

⁴⁰ Major Snodgrass, *Narrative of the Burmese War* (London, 1827), 175.

⁴¹ For the role of Americans in arranging the Peace of Yandabo, see John L. Christian, "Americans and the First Anglo-Burmese War," *Pacific Historical Review*, V (1936), 312-24.

⁴² General Albert Fytche, *Burma Past and Present* (London, 1878), I, 81. See Sir Alexander J. Arbuthnot, *Selections from Minutes and Other Official Writings of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro* (Madras, 1886), 430-60, for the record of Munro's active support of Lord Amherst which was largely responsible for the success of the war.

⁴³ Thomas C. Robertson, *Political Incidents of the First Burmese War* (London, 1853), 238. Robertson was Civil Commissioner attached to Sir Archibald Campbell's army.

⁴⁴ W. S. Desai, "History of the Burmese Indemnity 1826-1833," *JBRs*, XXIV (1934), 149-59.

⁴⁵ See *Cambridge History of India*, V, 560.

⁴⁶ For the treaty of Yandabo, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1825, 1826, XIII, 362,

administrator in the Straits and envoy to Siam, was deputed to Ava as Envoy and Minister Resident. He left Rangoon on September 2, 1826, reaching Ava on the last of the month. After numerous conferences, an innocuous commercial treaty was signed on November 24, 1826, on terms of entire equality between the two nations.⁴⁷

During the period 1826-40 relations between Burma and Britain were conducted through a Resident in Ava and, for a time, through a Burmese mission in Calcutta. Major Henry Burney was appointed Resident on December 30, 1829, and served continuously under most vexatious conditions, in Ava or Rangoon with short trips to the outside world, until he was relieved in 1838. Burney's services were of the highest order; he succeeded in persuading Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, to return to Burma the disputed Kubo [Kabaw] valley which had been confirmed in the possession of Manipur by the East India Company.⁴⁸ The Salween River was decided upon as the proper boundary between British and Burmese territory in the East; Burma's requests for the return of the Tenasserim Provinces were rejected; and Britain insisted upon the observance of Article VII of the Yandabo Treaty relative to the exchange of consuls between Calcutta and Ava. During this entire period raids by Burmese armed bands into British territory in the vicinity of Moulmein were most troublesome.

Colonel Benson, formerly private secretary to Lord William Bentinck, was appointed Resident at the court of Ava by Lord Auckland in 1838. Benson's reception at Amarapura, which had been proclaimed the capital city by King Tharawaddy, was a mixture of neglect and disdain which made all effective negotiation impossible. In March 1839, Benson left Amarapura for reasons of health. Captain McLeod, the Assistant Resident, weary of the futility of representing Britain at an irresponsible court and justly apprehensive of the safety of himself and his escort, withdrew to Rangoon in July. In August 1840, the Residency was closed, and intercourse between the two governments was restricted to the sending of special missions as

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1853-1854, 644. The treaty is summarized in Crawford, *op. cit.*, App., 8-9.

⁴⁸ Manipur State receives an annual compensatory stipend of Rs. 6,270 from the Government of India, due to the return of Kubo to Burma. W. S. Desai, *History of the British Residency in Burma, 1826-1840* (Rangoon, 1939), 215, n. Desai's definitive study is based principally upon unpublished *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations* and *Indian Political Consultations* in the India Office, London.

the occasion required.⁴⁹ It was not until 1867 that the British re-opened the Residency at Mandalay but, being no more successful than the first, the second Residency was closed in 1879.

Having rid his capital of the British Resident when McLeod withdrew in 1840, King Tharawaddy in 1841 made an impressive trip to Rangoon with the intention of persuading the British to return the conquered provinces of Tenasserim and Arakan. The Calcutta authorities would have returned Tenasserim, since it had an annual deficit, but the Home Government insisted upon its retention.⁵⁰ In 1845 Tharawaddy, having become of unsound mind, was deposed; he was followed by his son Pagan Min (1846-53) until he was displaced for similar reasons after the Anglo-Burmese War of 1852-53. During Pagan's reign some 6,000 people, including more than one hundred of the royal blood, were put to death, the victims of suspicion of plotting against the throne of Burma, or the object of cruel extortion.⁵¹

THE SECOND ANGLO-BURMESE WAR, 1852

After 1840, cases of exactions against British ships putting in at Rangoon became increasingly common and severe. Lord Dalhousie, India's youngest Governor-General and one of Britain's greatest proconsuls in the East, resolved to protest when Captain Sheppard, master of the British ship *Monarch*, was falsely accused of embezzlement and the murder of his pilot, who also was a British subject. In 1851, Captain Lewis of the *Champion*, having suffered repeated indignities and fines, went to Calcutta where he entered a claim of Rs. 9,200 against the Burmese Government. Lord Dalhousie's government reduced the claims of British subjects against Burma, and on November 17, 1851, sent a conciliatory message to the King of Burma requesting better treatment for British merchant ships. A little later, Commodore Lambert was sent with six naval vessels to Rangoon to await any communication from the Burmese Government. After further fruitless attempts at negotiation the Governor-General issued a Minute on February 12, 1852,

⁴⁹ Of these the most famous was Sir Arthur Phayre's mission, Sir Henry Yule's detailed account of which is one of our best sources on Burma in the 19th century.

⁵⁰ Desai, *op. cit.*, 56-61; 130-41.

⁵¹ *Gazetteer*, I, 333-4,

outlining his government's attempts at negotiation, and on February 18 1852, issued an ultimatum to the King of Ava.⁵² A month later, a boat went up the Rangoon River under a flag of truce, to receive an answer from the Burmese Court. It was fired upon by Burmese batteries, and the second Anglo-Burmese War began. On the other hand, Lambert's seizure, before the outbreak of hostilities, of the only ocean-going ship belonging to the King of Burma, gave that government a substantial claim against Britain.

Britain's course in the events leading up to the second Anglo-Burmese War has been condemned and praised with equal vigor. Richard Cobden, the British economist, was the most outspoken of the English critics, while General Lewis Cass, Senator from Michigan, denounced, in the United States Senate, Britain's action in seizing lower Burma.⁵³ Cobden charged that:

Lord Dalhousie begins with a claim on the Burmese for less than a thousand pounds; which is followed by the additional demand of an apology from the Governor of Rangoon for the insult offered to our officers; next, his terms are raised to one hundred thousand pounds, and an apology from the King's ministers; then follows the invasion of the Burmese territory; when, suddenly, all demands for pecuniary compensation and apologies cease, and his Lordship is willing to accept the cession of Pegu as a "compensation and reparation" for the past whilst at the same time he pens long minutes to prove how calamitous it will be to us to annex that province to our Indian empire! . . . ought we not to advertise in the *Times* for a Governor-General who can collect a debt of a thousand pounds without annexing a territory which will be ruinous to our finances?⁵⁴

Dalhousie defended his action by pointing out that Cobden's information was based upon the official Blue Books, which while composed from the official dispatches, had been severely

⁵² For the incidents leading to the second Burmese war, see *Papers Relating to Hostilities with Burma, Presented to Both Houses of Parliament, June 4, 1852*. See also *Gazetteer*, I, 354-75.

⁵³ Richard Cobden, "How Wars Are Got up in India," in *The Political Writings of Richard Cobden* (London, 1867), II, 25-106. For Cass's speech on the war as a . . . story of real rapacity" and the claim that Britain made war on Burma for ". . . non-payment of a debt of £990 . . . and annihilated its political existence," see *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Congress, XXVI, December 23, 1852, 141. As Secretary of State in 1857, Cass received the only diplomatic mission sent from Burma to the United States. Reported in Alfred S. Patton, *The Hero Missionary, or A History of the Labors of Eugenio Kincaid, D.D.* (New York, 1859).

⁵⁴ Cobden, *op. cit.*, 104.

edited by Sir James Graham, the Chief Secretary in India, and by the Home Government.⁵⁵

The facts are that Lord Dalhousie was in an awkward position once he had sent Commodore Lambert to negotiate with the Governor of Rangoon. Lambert, as an officer of the Royal Navy, was not directly under the Governor-General's control; he exceeded his instructions in seizing the ship belonging to the King of Burma, and otherwise justified Dalhousie's private opinion that "... these commodores are too combustible for negotiations."⁵⁶ To Dalhousie's suggestion that moderation be used, Lambert replied officially that he had reported his acts to the Lords of the Admiralty, and "... had no doubt of their approval!"⁵⁷ and that he was equally certain that "Palmerston would have approved."⁵⁸

Dalhousie's opinion was that "... conquest in Burma would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war."⁵⁹ He reported in a private letter:

There is no doubt that Lambert was the immediate cause of the war by seizing the King's ship, in direct disobedience of his orders from me. I accepted the responsibility of his act, but disapproved and censured it.⁶⁰

Once war was decided upon as the proper answer to the question "... whether before all Asia, England will submit to Ava, desert its subjects, and be driven from the Irrawaddy or ... enforce its treaty rights by arms,"⁶¹ Dalhousie made careful preparations for its prosecution, visited Burma three times during its progress, and took the utmost care of the rationing and health of the troops there engaged. The war was fought by the East India Company's Madras and Bengal armies, supported by units of the Queen's army. The war was approved unanimously in the Indian press but not in England.⁶² While the war was neither long nor costly, there were several stiff

⁵⁵ J. G. A. Baird, ed., *Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie* (London, 1910), 423. See also *Further Papers Relating to Hostilities with Burma*, March 15, 1853.

⁵⁶ Sir William Lee-Warner, *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie* (London, 1904), I, 418.

⁵⁷ Baird, *op. cit.*, 423.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁵⁹ *Further Papers Relating to Hostilities with Burma*, March 15, 1853, 44.

⁶⁰ Baird, *op. cit.*, 260.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁶² For example, the *London Times*, March 16, 1853, described the conflict as a "generally inglorious war,"

engagements.⁶³ No indemnity was demanded to recover the £1,000,000 which the war cost. Ava was so disorganised that no treaty was secured, and Pegu, Burma's only remaining maritime province, was annexed by proclamation on December 20, 1852.⁶⁴ Dalhousie's proclamation warned Burma that further aggressions " . . . if they be persisted in, must of necessity lead to the total subversion of the Burman State, and to the ruin and exile of the King and his race."⁶⁵ Viewed from the perspective of the present day, the political ineptness and inexperience of the Burmese government, and the incapacity of its head, must bear the major responsibility for the outbreak of the second war and its disastrous consequences for Burma.

While Dalhousie's proclamation of December 20, 1852, annexing Pegu was on its way across the Bay of Bengal to Burma, a palace revolution at Amarapura placed the good Mindon on the throne. Meantime, the light of the modern world had dawned slowly in Burma, and not until the reign of Mindon (1853-78) did Burma receive a ruler endowed with reasonably competent ideas of foreign relations. Mindon, last but one of the Alaungpaya dynasty, was undoubtedly the most astute among Burma's kings in his relations with the Powers. During his reign he was careful to maintain correct relations with the British in India and Lower Burma, although he was by no means an Anglophile.⁶⁶ Mindon continued to hope in vain that his good conduct would induce Britain to return Lower Burma.

There are records of more than fifteen official missions between Burma and foreign states under Mindon and his successor Theebaw, including exchanges between Mandalay and Britain, India, France, Persia and Italy. In 1872 Italy sent an envoy to Mandalay to ratify a treaty which had been negotiated nearly two years before.⁶⁷ Mindon displayed considerable interest in the fortunes of British arms in Africa, Asia, and the Crimea while proposals were made for embassies to Russia and Afghanistan. His desire to have Burma's independent status acknowl-

⁶³ See Col. W. F. B. Laurie, *Pegu, Being a Narrative of Events During the Second Burmese War from August, 1852, to Its Conclusion in June, 1853* (London, 1854), and Thomas Turner Baker, *The Recent Operations of the British Forces at Rangoon and Martaban* (London, 1852).

⁶⁴ Laurie, *op. cit.*, 142-4.

⁶⁵ Lee-Warner, *op. cit.*, 444.

⁶⁶ For a concise account in English of Burma under Mindon's rule, see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, 29-80.

⁶⁷ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 63, 644-8, 1170-1,

edged by the United States and the European states received a new impetus as each wave of British imperialism brought the Union Jack nearer the Golden Feet. He resented the fact that Burmese envoys sent to London in 1872 were presented to Queen Victoria by the Secretary of State for India instead of by the Minister for Foreign Affairs,⁶⁸ Britain having the previous year announced that her relations with Burma would henceforth be conducted through the Viceroy of India.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, during England's trial of strength in the great Indian Mutiny of 1857, Mindon refused to strike a blow for the recovery of Lower Burma, holding it unworthy to take advantage of a neighbor's distress, at the same time contributing £1000 to the relief of Mutiny sufferers.

Meantime the Panthay rebellion in Yunnan had completely blocked the usual trade between Burma and western China during much of the period 1855-73. Since the principal Burmese exports to China were raw cotton and jade, both of which were among Mindon's royal monopolies, the cessation of trade attracted the royal attention, but not sufficiently to remove the King's opposition to British efforts to open the trade routes to western China. A Chinese named Li-su-tai, who posed as an imperial officer, was given 20,000 *viss* of the royal cotton stored at Bhamo to enable him to continue the war against the Sultan Suliaman. Li-su-tai was later believed to have been the instigator of the murder of Margary, the British Consular Officer who came overland from Shanghai to meet the Browne Expedition in 1875, and was received later with honor in Mandalay by officials of Burma.⁷⁰

Mindon died on October 1, 1878, and, after palace intrigues which laid the foundations for later atrocities, was succeeded by his younger son. Theebaw, under whose reign some eighty members of the royal family who were likely to become troublesome were put to death in a systematic purge.⁷¹ General Halderman, American Minister resident in Bangkok, predicted cor-

⁶⁸ See Schencke to Fish, March 5, 1873, *Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1873, Pt. I, 318. Hereinafter cited as *Foreign Relations*.

⁶⁹ C. U. Aitchison, comp., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighboring Countries* (Calcutta, ed. 1876), I, 259.

⁷⁰ *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Pt. I, I, 71, 536. Sir George Younghusband has suggested that Margary's Hindu servant may have been implicated in the murder, See his *Eighteen Hundred Miles on a Burmese Tat* (London, 1888), 65.

⁷¹ Theebaw later denied that he had any knowledge of the massacre. See *London Times*, December 5, 1885.

rectly that the Viceroy would "throw his arms around Theebaw, his dominions, treasures, and monopolies, and incorporate them one and all in Her Britannic Majesty's Indian Empire."⁷² And that is precisely what happened in 1886. The American Minister to China, in reporting on the Margary murder of 1875, observed that the absorption of Burma by Britain seemed to be "... devoutly wished for by nearly all the foreign residents of China."⁷³

THE THIRD ANGLO-BURMESE WAR, 1885

Events leading up to the third Burmese War may be summarized briefly.⁷⁴ Under the Anglo-Burmese treaties of 1862 and 1867, the Burmese undertook to receive a British Resident and to facilitate the trans-Burma trade with China by permitting British steamers to navigate the Irrawaddy to Bhamo, by restricting duties on imports overland from China to one per cent and by prohibiting the levy of any tax or transit dues on goods destined for China.⁷⁵ During the period British relations with Burma were troubled by questions of ceremony comparable to the problem of the kowtow and the "battle of the chairs" in China. When the Burmese delegation, which attended the Calcutta reception for the future King Edward VII in 1875, wore hats and shoes and sat upon chairs, Burma was informed that in future British envoys to Mandalay would do likewise. Mindon solved the impasse by receiving no more British envoys.

A study of the official documents respecting the annexation of Upper Burma confirms the opinion that French intrigue in Mandalay was the principal reason for Britain's decision to take over independent Burma in 1885.⁷⁶ The excessive fine which Burma attempted to levy upon a British firm, the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation, for alleged violations of its contract in the extraction of teak from the King's forests was only a contributing cause. The third war was brief. On October 19, 1885, the British sent an ultimatum to the Burmese Government and, on receiving an unfavourable reply, advanced

⁷² Halderman to Freydingheusen, November 17, 1882, *Foreign Relations*, 1883, 754.

⁷³ Avery to Fish, June 1, 1875, *ibid.*, 1875, Pt. I, 336.

⁷⁴ For an excellent conspectus see John Nisbet, *Burma Under British Rule—and Before* (London, 1901).

⁷⁵ For the Treaties, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1864-65, 55, 850-2 and *ibid.*, 1870-71, 1305-8.

⁷⁶ See Smith, *op. cit.*, 760, and *Cambridge History of India*, VI, 437.

on Mandalay. General Prendergast's command reached Mandalay on the morning of November 28, 1885, and by nightfall Theebaw had been taken prisoner in his palace and with a small retinue was safely aboard the *Thoorcah* in the Irrawaddy, and four days later was en route to Rangoon and exile on the Bombay coast of India. There was little fighting, the British losing fewer than ten men in the occupation of Mandalay. The best account of the war is that written from the papers of Major-General Prendergast.⁷⁷

Lord Dufferin, who subsequently was known as the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, issued the Annexation Proclamation on January 1, 1886, and the last portion of independent Burma was incorporated into British India. The Proclamation, a classic one-sentence example of official brevity, is as follows:

By command of the Queen-Empress it is hereby notified that the territories formerly governed by King Theebaw will no longer be under his rule, but have become part of Her Majesty's dominions, and will, during Her Majesty's pleasure, be administered by such officers as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India may from time to time appoint.
—Dufferin⁷⁸

Theebaw died in exile on the Bombay coast of India in 1910,⁷⁹ at Ratnagiri, where Theebaw's palace is the largest building in the town. By that time the country had become so thoroughly pacified, and satisfaction with British rule had become so general, that Queen Supaya-lat was permitted to return to Rangoon where she received a generous government pension until her death in 1925.⁸⁰

PACIFICATION AND REORGANIZATION

While the occupation of Mandalay was a simple and inexpensive operation, the absorption of all of Upper Burma was difficult and costly.⁸¹ Dalhousie in 1852 and Bernard in 1884 predicted correctly that whereas Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim had been occupied with little difficulty Upper Burma, the

⁷⁷ Col. Henry Vibart, *The Life of General Sir Harry N. D. Prendergast* (London, 1914), 208-313. *The Illustrated London News*, October 1885 to May 1886, has a unique collection of photographs and drawings of the third war.

⁷⁸ The Proclamation may be found conveniently in Nisbet, *op. cit.*, 101.

⁷⁹ *London Times*, December 21, 1916.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1925.

⁸¹ The best account is Sir Charles Crosthwaite, *The Pacification of Burma* (London, 1912).

cradle of the Burmese race, could be expected to offer a troublesome problem. In 1879 the commanding general in Rangoon said he could take Mandalay with five hundred men but would need five thousand to take Upper Burma. Eventually three major-generals, Sir George White, Sir George Wolsely, and Sir Frederick Roberts, and thirty-five thousand men were employed for five years in the pacification. For several years there was unrest along the China frontier, in the Chin Hills and in other areas where Burmese authority had broken down completely under Theebaw. Most difficult was the suppression of dacoits, bands of marauding ex-soldiers of the Burmese army, who dispersed after the fall of Theebaw, taking their arms with them.⁸²

The British were at once confronted with the problem of the form of government and administration for Upper Burma. Members of the *Hlutdaw*, the Burmese Council of State, volunteered for service under the British, and they were retained in office under the guidance of Sir Edward Sladen, the Civil Commissioner.⁸³ The Council promptly ordered Burmese district and local officials to continue with their usual duties. The only Burmese officer of consequence who was removed immediately was the Taingda Mingyi, who was considered anti-British and responsible for the recent palace massacres.

The country was under provisional government for three months. It was proposed to constitute Upper Burma as a Native State or as a Protected State. A plan to use Burma as a buffer state against the growing French possessions in Indo-China was vetoed by Lord Dufferin who declared, "Burma is so soft and pulpy a substance that she could never be put to such a use."⁸⁴ Furthermore British opinion at home and in India, and Burmese opinion in Lower Burma, demanded annexation and union with British Burma. In February 1886 Lord Dufferin visited Mandalay and it was decided to incorporate Burma into the British Indian Empire.⁸⁵ On March 1, 1886, Upper Burma, with the exception of the Shan States, was constituted a scheduled district by law.⁸⁶ Later in the month the *Hlutdaw* passed from the scene as its civil functions were absorbed by the reg-

⁸² General Prendergast was relieved on March 31, 1886, for his failure to capture the Burmese arms and armies when he had them in his power. Vibart, *op. cit.*, 282-306.

⁸³ *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Pt. I, I, 114.

⁸⁴ Sir Alfred Lyall, *Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava* (London, 1905), II, 120.

⁸⁵ This was done under Statutes XXI and XXII Victoria, Cap. 106.

⁸⁶ Statute XXXIII Victoria, Cap. 3.

ular administration of Sir Charles Bernard, Chief Commissioner of British Burma.⁸⁷ Sir Alfred Lyall, Foreign Secretary of India, gave his opinion, "Natives don't like our foreign wars and Afghan complications . . . but they take it as natural enough that we should bowl over Theebaw and annex his country. Who wouldn't do the same?"⁸⁸

Bhamo, on the China frontier, was occupied without opposition in December 1885, but elsewhere in Theebaw's loosely administered kingdom there was trouble.⁸⁹ During 1887, a military force of 32,000 men had an extremely busy time in Burma; but by 1889 the Upper Burma garrison was reduced safely to 11,335 men of all arms. In time the army gave way to the Military Police, a form of mounted constabulary not employed elsewhere in the Indian Empire. Part of force was known in Burma as the Frontier Force. Keng Tung, largest and most remote of the Shan States, submitted in 1890 to Sir George Scott supported by an escort of forty men of the Indian Army.⁹⁰ Questions relative to the final demarcation of the frontiers with China, French Indo-China, and Siam, will be discussed in later chapters. The Chins, along the western watersheds of the Chindwin and Irrawaddy rivers, were in active revolt until 1896.⁹¹ Although the Chin Hills were formally declared part of the Province of Burma in September 1895, they are still not subject to all the revenue and general laws of Burma.

With the conquest of Upper Burma the administration of the entire province was unified and shortly assumed the form generally typical of the provincial governments of India. However, a few differences in land tenure and administration based upon historical precedent persisted until the operations of the Government of India Act (1935) went into force on April 1, 1937. Lower Burma, for example, had an annual capitation tax of Rs. 5 for married and Rs. 2/8 for unmarried men whereas Upper Burma retained the *Thathameda* tax, a household tax

⁸⁷ For valuable information on the beginning of British administration in Upper Burma, see Sir Herbert Thirkell White, *A Civil Servant in Burma* (London, 1913), 114-82. Sir Herbert was directly in charge in Upper Burma from 1886 to 1898 and was Lieutenant-Governor of Burma from 1905 to 1910; he died in 1931.

⁸⁸ H. M. Durand, *Life of the Right Honorable Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall* (London, 1913), 309. See *London Times*, December 7, 14, 1885, for note of a Rangoon Burmese mass meeting requesting annexation.

⁸⁹ For a concise account of the Pacification see *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Pt. I, I, 117-86.

⁹⁰ G. E. Mitton [Lady Scott], *Scott of the Shan Hills* (London, 1936), 139-53.

⁹¹ For details see Carey and Tuck, *Chin Hills Gazetteer*, *op. cit.*, 286-336.

of varying amounts as first imposed by King Mindon in 1857 and since partially replaced by regular land revenue. The present House of Representatives has since voted to abolish both by degrees.

THE PRESENT CENTURY

At the same time there have been many changes in Burma's internal administration. These are too numerous to cite in detail here, but the trend has been toward a reduction in the number of divisions under commissioners, a reduction in the number of districts under charge of deputy commissioners, and a reorganisation of the village system by consolidation of areas under a single *thugyi*, the Burmese village headman who has limited judicial powers and through whom taxes are collected. The Government of Burma is distinctly civilian. One could travel from Victoria Point to Myitkyina and see very little evidence of the military in the colony. Most of the extensive barracks which were constructed below the Shwedagon pagoda in Rangoon after the war of 1852 were abandoned, the custody of the pagoda has reverted to pagoda trustees, and a new cantonment was constructed at Mingaladon, some twelve miles from the old site. Nearby is the Mingaladon airport which was a regular point of call for the Imperial Airways, Air France, and the Royal Dutch Lines which continued regular operation until Germany's invasion of the Low Countries in May 1940.

Meantime, Burma has continued its modernization and growth, economic and governmental. By 1940, with the single exception of the Philippines, no tropical appendage of any great power enjoyed a larger degree of autonomy than did Burma, and few have experienced more constant commercial development. Rice cultivation increased until it occupied first place in the economy of the country. Railways and roads have been extended; the telegraph system is connected with those of neighboring China, Thailand and India. The tonnage handled by the Port Commissioners of Rangoon is exceeded in the 6,000 miles from Suez to Hongkong only by that of Calcutta, Bombay, and Singapore. Burma's geographical isolation prevented Rangoon from being reached by the major world steamship lines, but since the decline of immigration to America, Rangoon has exceeded New York as a passenger port due to the annual arrival and departure of some 300,000 Indians

who come across the Bay of Bengal to plant and reap Burma's rice crop. The province enjoyed a marked degree of prosperity during the decade 1920-30, a prosperity which was shared by all classes, with the lion's share going to Indian and Chinese capitalists, merchants, and moneylenders and to the great European firms operating in the rice, oil, shipping, mineral and importing trade throughout the province. These firms have their headquarters invariably in Rangoon. A university was established and richly endowed during the governorship of Sir Harcourt Butler. The population of Rangoon increased from 339,527 in 1921 to an estimated 500,800 at the beginning of the Japanese war.⁹²

During the first decades of the present century Burma became a sort of arcadian land where nature was profuse, the soil apparently inexhaustible, the people reasonably contented. Throughout the province there was still a certain amount of beautiful indolence and pleasant living. The modern world intruded only in its more comfortable aspects. Mission schools with electric fans and lights and long afternoons flourished in the same street with craftsmen who made alabaster images of Gautama Buddha—he who told others that he had found the great peace. The Burman, lover of beauty and pleasure for their own sake and undisturbed by excessive ambition, extended a welcome or at least tolerance to the ruling British, the casual visitor, and the million and a half Indian and Chinese immigrants who thrived at the expense of the gentler Burman. There was little racial friction before 1930. British overlords have had generally cordial relations with the Burmese people, and happily these reciprocal understandings persisted up to a year or two before the Japanese invasion.

Britain alone of the great colonial powers has seen her possessions grow into dominion status, and during the lush decades before 1940 it was evident that India and Burma were starting in the same direction, the first of the tropical colonies to make the change. The period before 1930 was an era of adjustment between Burmese and British cultures. While the Burmese eagerly accepted the conveniences of Western life, a degree of

⁹² B. R. Pearn, *History of Rangoon* (Rangoon, 1939), is a monumental study of the greatest historical and current importance. Likewise of value, particularly for its charts, is O. H. K. Spate and L. W. Trueblood, "Rangoon: A Study in Urban Geography," *Geographical Review*, XXXII (1942), 56-73.

racial pride led them to retain the finest elements of the indigenous civilization. For example, the Burmans, unlike the Japanese and the Turks at opposite ends of Asia, have not adopted Western dress but wisely prefer to retain the more suitable and picturesque native garb. On the other hand, a number of British scholars have taken a fruitful interest in Burmese civilization and to them we are indebted for penetrating studies of Burmese life, studies that are particularly valuable since the Burman is not himself disposed to analytic studies of his own unique culture. Among these should be mentioned Sir George Scott who, under the pseudonym Shway Yoe, wrote the standard description of Burmese life.⁹³ The idealistic, almost mystical, studies by H. Fielding Hall should not be passed by.⁹⁴ The delightful accounts of Burma's frontier regions by Major C. M. Enriquez, and the works of V. C. Scott O'Connor and T. R. Livesay and G. H. Luce are typical of the results of Western interest in Burma's life.

Although Burma has appropriated the material benefits of Western civilization, there have been losses as well as gains. Native art, music, and literature declined during the period before 1930. Cottage industries and crafts were displaced in large measure by imported goods. Vernacular education lost in popularity as the spread of English increased in response to popular demand. Although Christian missions made rapid progress in gaining adherents among the Karens, Chins, Kachins, and other tribal groups, in general there was no significant change in the relative strength of the various religious communities in the country. The Burmese and Shans, loyal to the religion of their forefathers, are Buddhists almost to a man, and even in 1940 there were fewer than 15,000 Christians of all denominations from among the Burmese race. The period saw an increase in the number of municipalities enjoying local government. Electrical lighting spread from Rangoon to nearly all cities of 5,000 inhabitants or more, each city having an independent lighting plant usually operated by diesel power. While municipal supplies of piped water became common, sanitation remained somewhat primitive; only Rangoon has an extended system of modern sewage disposal. Rangoon and Man-

⁹³ Shway Yoe, *The Burman His Life and Notions*, 3rd ed. (London, 1910).

⁹⁴ See H. Fielding Hall: *The Inward Light* (New York, 1908), *The Soul of a People* (London, 1913), *A People at School* (London, 1913).

dalay have streetcar systems, while these and other cities are served by organized motor bus systems or by privately operated busses and taxis. These busses, which are almost invariably locally made bodies mounted on American truck chassis, have also revolutionized transport in the Shan States and along the streets and highways of Burma's cities and countryside.

CHAPTER IV

ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY FOR BURMA

EARLY FRENCH INTEREST IN BURMA

Inasmuch as French negotiation with Upper Burma, with its consequent danger to British commercial interests, was the principal reason for the annexation of independent Burma in 1886, the problem of Anglo-French rivalry in the region deserves particular attention.

French interest in Burma began with the organization of the French East India Company in 1604, the dispatch of the first French ship to the East in 1611, and the beginnings of French Oriental establishments in the middle of the century.¹ By 1631 the French in Madagascar regarded that island as of particular value because of its favourable location for extending their trade to Pegu.² In 1663 French priests were acquainted with littoral Burma and in that year made their first crossing of the Tenasserim peninsula while en route to Siam.³ Shortly thereafter the French, hard pressed on the mainland of India, proposed moving their headquarters to some point on the Pegu coast or acquiring the Danish colony of Tranquebar.⁴ The French naval expedition of six ships that reached the Bay of Bengal in 1690 had as one of its objects the establishment of trade with Siam; and Burma's proximity to that country gave her some share in French ambitions in the East.⁵

Failure of the British East India Company's trade in both Burma and Siam during the seventeenth century was due largely to the superiority of French force and influence in those states.

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² *Cambridge History of India* V, 62.

³ Adrien Launay, *Histoire Generale de la Societe des Missions Etrangeres* (Paris, 1894), I, 74.

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While en route to Siam the French expedition of 1690 put in at Negrais Island at the mouth of the Bassein River to refit, and there attacked the British ship *Recovery*, but made no serious attempt to oust the British from their slender holdings on the Burma coast.⁶

During the fateful decade, 1741-51, when under Dupleix, the able head of the Pondicherry settlement, the French possessions in India reached their greatest limits, French shipbuilding interests were attracted to lower Burma by the abundance of teak timber. Dupleix in 1751 sent M. Bournon to Pegu, and that ambitious adventurer reported that five hundred Frenchmen could capture Syriam. Dupleix apparently suggested the project to the directors of the French East India Company but these gentlemen vetoed such action on the grounds of the danger of involvement with the British.⁷ Later Dupleix defended his action by explaining, "I never intended to conquer that kingdom, but simply to support the man [Alaungpaya] who had just done so. . . . I asked only the town of Syriam."⁸ The French did, in fact, acquire in Syriam a site 1,500 by 1,000 feet for a factory.⁹ This land, together with a small base on King's Island in the Mergui archipelago from which the French made forays on English shipping in the eastern part of the Bay of Bengal, was the only area within the present limits of Burma over which French control was established. Their brief occupation in 1688 of Mergui town as a part of Phaulkon's conspiracy in Siam, did not there establish French sovereignty.¹⁰

Anglo-French rivalry in Burma during the eighteenth century was most active during the two decades of struggle between the Ava Burmese and the Pegu Talaings. In 1743 the Talaings seized Syriam and burned the buildings of the English East India Company; later the Company reopened its factory at Negrais Island which was ceded by Alaungpaya at the time of Lester's mission in 1757. The French, meantime, gave aid to the Talaings in their struggle with Alaungpaya while the British in Burma favored that conqueror. The conflict ended with the

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Virginia McLean Thompson, *Dupleix and His Letters* (New York, 1933), 721, and Alfred Martineau, *Dupleix et L'Inde Française 1749-1754* (Paris, 1927), 451.

⁸ Thompson, *op. cit.*

⁹ Martineau, *op. cit.*, 449.

¹⁰ Maurice Collis, *Siamese White* (London, 1936), 282; Harvey, *op. cit.*, 202-3; and *British Burma Gazetteer*, II, 269,

CHAPTER IV

ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY FOR BURMA

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conquest of lower Burma by Alaungpaya in 1755. Victory gave him a supply of French arms including 1,300 muskets and forty 24-pounders, together with two hundred French gunners with which aid Burmese power reached its greatest limits.¹¹ Lavigne, one of Bourno's staff, incited the Burmese governor of Bassein to attack the British factory at Negrais in October 1759. Eight Englishmen and one hundred Indians were killed; the buildings were destroyed; and Negrais was never reoccupied.¹² The French subsequently established a factory at Mainthu (modern Dalla) across the river from Rangoon, and Suffren considered Pegu as "the country through which the English might be attacked in India to the most advantage."¹³ Nevertheless French disasters in India, which by the Treaty of Paris, 1763, resulted in the decline of her possessions to approximately their present extent, ended her immediate plans for an establishment in Burma—a decision that was reinforced by the French disasters in the war of 1778. The English likewise maintained no regular outpost in the country from the Negrais tragedy until the first Anglo-Burmese war. Small numbers of British and French merchants and shipbuilders continued to carry on business in Rangoon and the vicinity until the outbreak of war in 1824, but they exercised little political influence and were subject always to the authority of the Burmese governor of Rangoon.

There were repeated instances of Frenchmen in Burma throughout the entire nineteenth century. In 1809, for example, a French Captain Jean Bartel was commander of Bodawpaya's ships which attacked Junkceylon; on the return journey he and a French priest, Father Rabeau, were thrown into the sea by the mutinous Burmese crew.¹⁴ The British embassies of Symes in 1795 and 1802 and Canning in 1803 and 1809 were sent to Ava for the express purpose of inquiring into the extent of French influence in Burma, and to inform the Burmese in 1809 that French Oriental possessions were under blockade. Lanciego, the

¹¹ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 231-4.

¹² The usual source on the Negrais massacre is Dalrymple, *op. cit.* A recent definitive study is D. G. E. Hall, "The Tragedy of Negrais," *JBRs*, XXI (1931), 1-133.

¹³ *Bengal Secret and Political Consultations*, 17th May, 1804, Information supplied by Professor B. R. Pearn. Excellent summaries of early French interest in Burma are Henri Cordier, "La France et L'Angleterre en Indochine et en Chine sous le Premier Empire," *T'oung Pao*, ser. 2, V (1903), 201-27; and his "Le Français en Birmanie," *ibid.*, 1890-1892, *passim*. See also pertinent sections in Pierre Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Orientales et a la Chine* (Paris, 1782), II, 38-54.

¹⁴ Launay, *op. cit.*, II, 416.

Spanish *Shawbunder* (collector) of Rangoon during the Anglo-Burmese war of 1824, was at heart a Frenchman.¹⁵ During the interval between the first and third Anglo-Burmese wars (1824-85), several mysterious Frenchmen appeared in Burma claiming to represent their government and offering to provide arms and officers for the Burmese army. The most famous of these were the adventurer known as General d'Orgoni (M. Girodon) and two young French officers, Fau and Moreau, who explored the overland route from Mandalay to Tongkin.¹⁶ In 1862 two Mandalay Frenchmen were engaged in producing arms and ammunition for Burma and even proposed opening a mint for King Mindon.¹⁷

In 1866-68 the de Lagree-Garnier expedition carried on its remarkable explorations which became the basis of French claims to the Upper Mekong, and by June 1867 Garnier had ascended the Mekong to the spot where Burma, Thailand and French Indo-China now meet.¹⁸ More than any other event before the Annexation of 1885, Garnier's expedition from Saigon aroused British distrust of French ambitions in Southeast Asia, and these fears were not entirely settled until the signing of the entente in 1904 and the settlement of the Siamese question at the end of the decade. The London *Times* reported that Garnier's party intended to "strike the Irrawaddy at Bhamo," and they were expected also at Ava and Keng Tung.¹⁹ Meantime the Mingun prince, who in 1866 murdered the heir apparent and raised an unsuccessful rebellion against Mindon, in 1883 escaped from British "protection" in Bengal. His escape gave rise to rumors that he would land in Rangoon with a French alliance against Britain, and when he was sheltered by the French in Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and later in Saigon until his death in 1921, both British and Burmese were displeased. During the 1870's Mindon attempted to persuade the French Bishop Bigandet to secure the aid of France in protect-

¹⁵ Desai, *op. cit.*, 77; see also 48, 333-47.

¹⁶ A. Marescalchi, "Une Mission en Birmanie," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, XLIV (September, 1874), 55-79. Sir Arthur Phayre wrote to Dalhousie, "I have altogether considered Mr. d'Orgoni as scarce worth mentioning." Hall, *Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence*, *op. cit.*, 85.

¹⁷ B. R. Pearn, "The Commercial Treaty of 1862," *JBRs*, XXVII (1937), 38, 39.

¹⁸ Hugh Clifford, *Further India* (London, 1904), 129-254, gives a vivid account of the expedition.

¹⁹ Issue of June 7, 1868. The basic source is Francis Garnier, *Voyage d'Exploration en Indochine effectuée pendant les années 1866, 1867, 1868* (Paris, 1873).

ing Burma against possible British aggression. As Burma began sending representatives to the courts of western Europe, she made a special point of cultivating the friendship of France, and her embassies invariably spent more time in Paris than in London.

Britain was content to leave Upper Burma independent so long as that country should not fall under control of any other foreign power. However, once the British became alarmed over French intrigue with Theebaw, their representatives in Paris, India, and Burma kept the Home Government thoroughly informed on French activities in Mandalay. The Blue Books on Burma and the Mekong question are believed to give an essentially complete account of Anglo-French rivalry in those areas.²⁰

Dufferin had declared the position of his government in a message to the Chief Commissioner: "If, however, the present proceedings should eventuate in any serious attempt [by the French] to forestall us in Upper Burma, I should not hesitate to annex the country."²¹ To the danger of foreign intrigue as a cause for the extinction of Burmese independence must be added Burmese interference with legitimate British commerce and the capricious arrest and maltreatment of British subjects. In fact a high official in the Indian Government declared that the real cause of annexation was a desire for new markets, and he added that he was "not quite satisfied that we are right in building up a great Indo-Chinese dependency alongside of our Indian Empire."²² Good private authority that has had opportunity to examine the confidential documents in the Rangoon and Calcutta Secretariats and the papers in the India Office has supported the comment of Sir George Scott relative to the excellent summary of Anglo-French rivalry as found in a French study of the British record in Burma.²³ For the immediate events

²⁰ The *British and Foreign State Papers* and the *Parliamentary Papers* have a total of more than 800 closely printed pages of dispatches and correspondence respecting Burma. These include exchanges between London and Burma, correspondence between officials of the British and French Foreign Offices, and negotiations over the Anglo-French-Siamese boundary settlements on the Mekong. In addition there are extensive French documents on the Burma-Siam question. Since it is obviously impossible to include much of this material in a survey volume, it is summarized only with references to pertinent sources.

²¹ Lyall, *op. cit.*, II 118.

²² Durand, *op. cit.*, 309, 311.

²³ Sir George Scott, "... there is nothing more to be said on the subject." In Introduction to Joseph Dautremere, *Burma Under British Rule* (London, 1913); see also 13, 70-5.

leading to the British ultimatum to Theebaw, Tennyson Jesse [Mrs. Harwood], *The Lacquer Lady*, contains an account that is "... really accurate and at the same time fascinating."²⁴

FRANCE AND THE END OF THE EALAUNGPAYA DYNASTY

In 1873 a French embassy under Comte de Rochechouart visited Burma, having first stopped at Agra to assure the Viceroy Lord Northbrook that France had no designs on Burma. Upon arrival in Mandalay the French envoy exceeded his instructions and was induced to sign three secret articles by which (1) France offered her good offices in settling disputes to which Burma was a party, (2) France would supply officers to train the Burmese army, and (3) Frenchmen in the country would be subject to the courts of Burma. Although the French Foreign Minister, the Duc de Cazes, disavowed the action of his emissary, and ratification was refused, the attempt to enter into close relations with Burma became known to the British. A treaty of commerce between France and Upper Burma was signed in Paris on January 24, 1873, but because of the difficulties mentioned above, ratification was delayed until 1884. The party proceeded in an Italian steamer from Calcutta. It was composed of a senior Burmese Minister (Atwinwun) who knew no English, two Burmans who had been educated abroad, and a French gentleman M. de Travelec.²⁵ After the departure of the Burmese embassy, British officials in the Orient kept their Government well informed of the rising anti-British and pro-French sentiment in Mandalay. The Franco-Burmese Treaty of April 5, 1884, as reported in *Le Moniteur Officiel* of May 30, 1884, provided in Article IV for the establishment of a mixed tribunal. This last Burmese embassy sent abroad avoided contact with the British, and only after having been in Paris for eighteen months did the Atwinwun make a courtesy call on the British Ambassador in Paris. While returning to Burma the embassy stopped in Rome and there concluded a treaty with Baron Von Kendall, the German Ambassador.

²⁴ Mitton, *op. cit.*, 55. Mrs. Harwood had access to the confidential documents in Rangoon. Tennyson Jesse [Mrs. Harold Marsh Harwood], *The Lacquer Lady*, (New York, 1930).

²⁵ The British in Burma were fully aware of Burmese plans which were reported in detail to the Government of India. The Blue Book, *Correspondence since the Accession of King Theebaw, October 1878*, has 266 pages of dispatches: Cmd, 4614 in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1886.

In the course of diplomatic conversations held during the summer and autumn of 1883 Lord Lyons, British Ambassador in Paris, made it plain that Britain had objections to anything beyond French commercial agreements with Burma.²⁶ Chalmers Lacour and Jules Ferry, French Ministers of Foreign Affairs, were informed that Britain had a primary interest in Burma while she regarded French interest in that country as secondary. Late in 1883 Lord Lyons again protested Franco-Burmese negotiations and Ferry promised that nothing of a political nature would be made the subject of a Franco-Burmese treaty.²⁷ In connection with the Franco-Burmese negotiations of 1873 Britain had requested that no facilities be provided for importation of arms through French Indo-China.²⁸ Ferry again gave assurances in April 1884 that no facilities for arms would be discussed and that only consular and commercial problems were under negotiation.²⁹ By the summer of 1884 the French attitude had stiffened, and when Ferry in May 1884 was informed of British objection to any political alliance between independent Burma and a foreign power his reply was that the Treaty of 1873, then being put into effect, provided for reciprocal appointment of diplomatic agents who would enjoy the usual powers. Moreover Lord Lyons informed Lord Granville, British Foreign Minister, that the French insisted upon extra-territoriality in Burma and declined to restrict their consular activities to commercial matters.³⁰

In July 1884, Ferry assured Lyons that the Burmese desired to "throw themselves into the arms of France," but that France had no intention of accepting the offer of concluding any special alliance with Burma. Late in that month Ferry informed the British of his intention to station a French Consul-General in Mandalay to take charge of all French interests. At the same time he referred to the French in Tongkin as becoming neighbors to Burma and inquired if there existed an Anglo-Burmese agreement that would prevent Theebaw entering into any special treaty relations with foreign powers. The French again pledged that no arms would be supplied.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, nos. 49-64.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 66.

²⁸ Lyons to Salisbury, July 25, 1878, in *ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 62.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 67, inclosure 1.

Early in January 1885, Lord Lyons again requested information from the French Foreign Minister as to the progress of that country's negotiations with Burma. Ferry gave a vague reply and suggested that Britain and France arrive at a frontier arrangement by treaty. A few days later Ferry informed Lord Lyons that France had signed a treaty with Burma on January 15, 1885, but that it contained nothing of political or military importance and that the question of consular jurisdiction over Frenchmen in Burma was in abeyance. Quite different information soon was received from the Secretary of State for India. On July 25, 1885, he informed the Viceroy by telegraph of the terms of a Franco-Burmese agreement which granted a concession for the construction by French interests of a railway from Toungoo, the end of the British line, to Mandalay at a cost of £2,500,000, the railway to be Burmese property after seventy years. The agreement provided for the establishment of the Bank of Burma by a Franco-Burman syndicate with a capitalization of Rs. 25,000,000. Loans were to be made to the King at twelve percent interest, and to others at eighteen percent.⁸¹ The contract for operating the Bank of Burma was awarded to M. le Comte A. Mahe de la Bourdounais who secured for his bank a monopoly on minting coin for Burma. The terms of the concession which was signed for Burma in Rome on April 13, 1885, and concluded finally on October 15 may be found in the Count's interesting book recounting his travels in Burma and Siam.⁸² French expansionist schemes were reported to include also control of the Burma postal system, and a concession for a line of French steamers on the Irrawaddy where they would have been in competition with an existing British service. Had these ambitious proposals come to fruition they would have represented a most extensive enlargement of French business. According to a Calcutta report in the *London Times*, French commercial interests in Mandalay at the time were represented by two or three petty traders who sold silk and trinkets to the palace.⁸³

Negotiations for these concessions had proceeded since the arrival of the French Consul, M. Haas, in Mandalay in May

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, no. 98.

⁸² M. le Comte A. Mahe de la Bourdounais, *Un Francais en Birmanie* (Paris, 1891), 295-306. After the annexation the Count put in an unsuccessful claim for compensation since the contract could not be fulfilled.

⁸³ Issue of September 28, 1885.

1885. France was interested also in providing overland trade to Tongkin, and a French engineer, M. Bonvillein, was in communication with the Burmese Ministers respecting a lease on the Mogok and Kyatpyin ruby mines at £20,000 per annum. On July 29, 1885, the Viceroy telegraphed to London that he had received Burmese documents in confirmation of Burma's negotiations with France and added that the consequences to British trade and interests would be disastrous.³⁴ The Chief Commissioner of British Burma, through his efficient intelligence service in Mandalay, learned on August 4 that on January 15, 1885, the French Prime Minister had informed the Burmese Minister of Foreign Affairs that:

With respect to transport through the Province of Tonquin to Burma of arms . . . amicable arrangements will be come to with the Burmese Government . . . when peace and order prevail in Tonquin, and the officers stationed there are satisfied that it is proper and that there is no danger.³⁵

The British regarded this statement as evidence of French duplicity inasmuch as Ferry had given assurance that arms would not be transported through the French possessions. This French statement, together with the signing of the Franco-Burmese Treaty of January 15, 1885, was the greatest single cause for the British decision to end Burmese independence.³⁶ Three days later Lord Salisbury informed M. Waddington that if the truth of French intrigue were established, a necessary consequence would be that " . . . the liberty and power of the King of Burma would have to be materially restricted."³⁷

A long dispatch from Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India, to Lord Randolph Churchill, Secretary of State for India, indicated that British officers in Burma and India were convinced that " . . . the British Government must proceed to annex the Kingdom of Ava."³⁸ The dispatch gave detailed information on the activities of Consul Haas in Mandalay who evidently had urged Burma to take advantage of the "apathy" of the British Government and secure declarations from France, Italy, and

³⁴ Cmd. 4614, *op. cit.*, no. 100.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 105.

³⁶ Grattan Geary, *Burma After the Conquest* (London, 1886), 136-43, reproduces several of the relevant documents; Major Edmond Charles Browne, *The Coming of the Great Queen* (London, 1888), is a valuable contemporary account.

³⁷ Cmd. 4614, *op. cit.*, no. 109.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

Germany recognizing Burma as a neutral state.

Events moved rapidly during the summer and autumn of 1885. On August 20 the Viceroy was informed by telegram from the London agents of the Bombay-Burma Trading Company, then engaged in working Theebaw's teak forests under contract, that the British company had been fined Rs. 10 lakhs and was faced with the cancellation of its contracts by the Burmese government on the fraudulent charge of having violated its contract.³⁹ Haas and Bonvillein were reported ready to take over the teak lease. However, the Bombay-Burma dispute did not arise until after the British decision to prevent French expansion into Upper Burma was well formed.

Ferry had been replaced by de Freycinet in the French Foreign office a week before the close of the Sino-French war consequent upon French military disasters in Tongkin. Due to the "thunders of Clemenceau," further colonial ventures in the Far East were most unpopular in France. De Freycinet repudiated all attempts at acquiring for France political predominance in Burma, but the British distrusted his statement of September 26, 1885. In October M. Haas, the zealous Consul of whose activities France seemed hardly aware, went on sick leave. His successor Pierre Bouteillier, formerly French Consul in Philadelphia, did not reach Mandalay until after Theebaw had been taken prisoner. Frederic Haas later appeared as French Consul in Chungking, and under the name Philippe Lehault wrote the large volume *France et l'Angleterre en Asie*—a defense of France in Burma, Siam and Indo-China based, strangely enough, principally upon British documents.⁴⁰ Colonel Sladen said of Haas that he was a "very courageous and honorable man,"⁴¹ but other opinion was not equally complimentary.

Lord Dufferin proposed on October 16, 1885 that he be authorized to issue an ultimatum to Burma embracing the following terms: 1. Acceptance of a British envoy without the humiliating conditions formerly in force. 2. Suspension of action against the Bombay-Burma Trading Company pending investigation. 3. Reception of a permanent British Resident at Mandalay. 4. Acceptance of British direction over foreign rela-

³⁹ *Ibid*, nos. 178-209, consist of dispatches respecting the Bombay-Burma dispute. The Rangoon correspondent of the London *Times* was also special counsel for the timber company, and his account must be read with reservation.

⁴⁰ Published in Paris, 1892.

⁴¹ Browne, *op. cit.*, 104.

lions. 5. Provision of suitable facilities for the China overland trade.

The following day the Viceroy was authorized to issue an ultimatum in these terms and, upon failure to receive a satisfactory reply, the Secretary of State for India telegraphed the Viceroy on November 11, 1885: "Please instruct General Prendergast to advance on Mandalay at once." This order was carried out successfully and on December 2 Sir Charles Bernard, Chief Commissioner of Burma, announced the arrival of King Theebaw as a prisoner in British territory. The new French Consul traveled up to Mandalay by the same steamer which had brought the King down, but upon arrival found no one to whom he might present his credentials. It was believed in Burma that Adreino, the Italian Consul in Mandalay, had exposed the Burma intrigues of Haas to the British; at any rate, Italy was the first and only country which expressed officially its satisfaction over the British absorption of all Burma.⁴² On November 24, 1885, the very day on which the King Theebaw requested an armistice, the French Senate ratified the Franco-Burmese Convention of January 15, 1885. This was done after the publication of a "remarkably indiscreet" report of a committee of the Chamber of Deputies appointed to investigate the negotiations with Burma.⁴³

SINCE 1886

Between the Annexation of 1886 and the signing of the Anglo-French entente of 1904, France and Britain were in active rivalry along the Mekong and were contenders for mineral and trading rights in Yunnan. Complications with France resulted from the allocation of the numerous native states along the upper Mekong among Britain, France and Siam. The confused area was for a decade the object of rival claims that reached an intensity much beyond that warranted by its economic or strategic value. It was believed that the valley of the Mekong was the key to control of Yunnan and the Lao States, and that it

⁴² *Further Correspondence Relating to Burma* (Burma No. 3 1886), Cmd. 4887 in *Parl. Papers*, 1886, L. No. 14.

⁴³ M. le Depute Lanessan, *Rapport fait au nom de la Commission chargée d'examiner le projet de loi portant approbation de la convention complémentaire de commerce, signée à Paris le 15 janvier 1885, entre la France et la Birmanie* (Paris, 1885). As Governor-General of French Indo-China from 1891 to 1894, M. Lanessan was active in extending French holdings along the upper Mekong.

would become a great route to the mineral wealth and trade of Yunnan for which the British and French were then rivals. Actually this mountainous region is even today remote, sparsely settled and without extensive potential trade or means of communication. Neither the Salween nor the Mekong is navigable for commercial purposes; nor is there a railway in British or French territory within 250 miles of the point where the Mekong leaves Yunnan and forms a common frontier between Siam, French Indo-China and Burma.

British occupation of Upper Burma proper was followed by expeditions into the various Shan States tributary to Theebaw. Not until 1890 did a British party under Sir George Scott reach Keng Tung. Meantime both the French and the Siamese had asserted claims to parts of the former Burmese possessions. During the Franco-Burmese negotiations of 1885 Burma purported to cede part of Kianghung across the Mekong to the French. However, the British as heirs to Theebaw's dominions claimed the area; later, by the Sino-British boundary demarcation and convention of 1893-94, Kianghung went to China on condition that it should never be ceded to another power.⁴⁴ However, the Chinese almost immediately gave part of Kianghung to the French.⁴⁵

Further difficulty arose over the sub-state of Mong Hsing, a trans-Mekong territory ruled by a junior branch of the governing family of Keng Tung. In March 1894 Mr. G. C. B. Stirling of the Burma Commission visited Mong Hsing and he was followed by Sir George Scott and Mr. Wharry, Chinese Political Advisor to the Government of Burma, on Christmas Day, 1894, in connection with the Anglo-French Mekong Commission. M. Pavie, the French Commissioner, sent a French flag to Mong Hsing before the arrival of the British party, and the Sawbwa hoisted the tricolor over his *haw*. Pavie, who did not reach Mong Hsing until New Year's Day, had intended to welcome Sir George Scott to French territory. However, Scott had the French flag lowered and ran up his own. For a few months the incident had all the possibilities of an Oriental Fashoda nearly five years before the famous incident on the Nile.⁴⁶ The

⁴⁴ See section on Burma and China, *infra*.

⁴⁵ Article II, Sino-French Treaty, June 20, 1895, in *British and Foreign State Papers*, 87 (1894-95), 523.

⁴⁶ The Mong Hsing-Keng Cheng incident is treated definitively by Clarence Hender-shot, *The Conquest, Pacification, and Administration of the Shan States by the British*,

London *Times* had columns about the Mong Hsing incident, and Pavie in private conversation with Scott doubted the validity of French claims to the bazaar town. On January 14, 1896, a telegraphic message from the Viceroy announced an agreement with France which set mid-channel of the Mekong as the frontier.⁴⁷ Thus Mong Hsing, which had flown the British flag and had had a British post office for a year, was acquired by France, Siam's claims having been quieted by the Treaty of Chantabun which transferred all Siamese rights east of the Mekong to France.⁴⁸ Likewise part of the small subordinate state of Keng Cheng of which Mong Hsing was the capital and chief town went first to Siam and was acquired by France in May 1896. British interests with respect to the Mekong frontier suffered from frequent changes of policy: Lord Roseberry favored the buffer state idea; Lord Kimberly ordered the occupation of Mong Hsing; then Lord Salisbury, "without exception the worst foreign Secretary we ever had for matters east of Suez,"⁴⁹ gave up the state to France. In the end, the France secured a strategic, natural frontier for their Indo-Chinese holdings and had the "further gratification of having enlarged them beyond all expectations."⁵⁰

Anglo-French rivalry continued in Yunnan along Burma's northern frontiers until well into the present century. Rival railway and mining claims were the most frequent causes of friction. By Article XII of the Anglo-French agreement of February 4, 1897, French railway construction in Yunnan was authorized, and connection of any Yunnan lines with the Burma railways was provided for.⁵¹ The lines, however, remain unconnected. The British abandoned their surveys beyond Bhamo and Lashio, and the French built into Yunnanfu and then abandoned their plans to build further into Yunnan. Activities

1886-1897 (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago Library, 1936). The best French account is in seven volumes by Auguste Pavie, *Mission Pavie Indo-Chine* (Paris, 1900-19), V, 264-84, for the Mong Hsing incident.

⁴⁷ J. A. V. MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China* (New York, 1921), I, 54-5.

⁴⁸ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 87 (1894-95), 187-390; *Nouveau Recueil General de Traites*, Ser. II, XX, 160-74.

⁴⁹ Mitton, *op. cit.*, 166. Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*, 210-33 has useful information on the Mekong settlement.

⁵⁰ Mitton, *op. cit.*, 215.

⁵¹ MacMurray, *op. cit.*, I, 96.

of French explorers and missionaries in Yunnan along the Burma frontier were watched closely; the British in Burma were only mildly enthusiastic about the explorations of Prince Henry of Orleans from the Mekong to Assam across the top of Burma in 1895. The British were careful to protect their interests by opening consulates in Ssumao (Es-mok) and other inland "treaty ports" of Yunnan and Kwangsi where there was little trans-Burma trade.

During the present century there has been very little commerce of any sort between the French and British possessions across the Mekong. In 1914 Chinese bandits invaded French territory and the *myosa* of Mong Hsing tried to throw off French authority; he later fled to China and remained there. Franco-British co-operation enabled the French to reassert their authority in territory which the Chinese had controlled for more than a year.⁵²

Anglo-French rivalry for Burma is understood only by reference to the diplomatic climate of the times from 1885 to 1905 when the British watched the French carefully from Oman and Afghanistan to the South Seas. In settling the eastern border of Burma, the British came off second best with the French; they surrendered part of Kianghung to China which in turn ceded it to France; they voluntarily released Mong Hsing and Keng Cheng, which wished to join Siam, but "before the government of Bangkok had time to receive homage of the Mong Hsing Chief" the French obtained the treaty of Chantabun and with it Siam's claims to Mong Hsing. Their Mekong and Siam rivalries twice, in 1893 and 1896, brought England and France to the verge of war.

⁵² C. M. Enriquez, *A Burmese Loneliness* (Calcutta, 1918), 158-60. This book contains an excellent map of the frontier area.

CHAPTER V

SEPARATION FROM INDIA

BURMA'S UNION WITH INDIA

Most persistent of the problems which have plagued Burma under British administration is the question of Indo-Burmese relations. After the war of 1824 the recently conquered parts of Burma became technically a part of Bengal since the war was declared by the authorities at Fort William, Calcutta, and was prosecuted by the forces of the East India Company. First steps in the British administration of Burma were taken by the appointment of a British commission consisting of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, Commanding Officer of the forces invading Burma, Thomas Robertson, an experienced civilian from Bengal, and Ross Mangles who acted as Secretary to the Commission. The Commission received a valuable addition in 1826 in the person of John Crawfurd, the distinguished Orientalist, late administrator in Singapore and envoy to Siam. The lower province of Tenasserim was placed under the administration of Robert Fullerton, Governor of Prince of Wales Island (Penang). The seat of the province was laid at the new city of Amherst, but was later moved to Moulmein.¹ Thus Indian control over Burma's civil government began with an order in the Bengal Council appointing a commission to supervise law and order in the new provinces.

British administration of Arakan was not so happy as the prosperous rule in Tenasserim: an attempt was made by weak administrators to impose the Bengal type of government upon the new territory. The opinion that Burma should never have been placed under the Government of India is well expressed by Sir George Scott, "Burma ought never to have been joined on to the Indian Empire."² This opinion is quite uni-

¹ The best summary of the beginnings of British rule in Tenasserim is J. S. Furnivall, "Fashioning of Leviathan: The Beginnings of British Rule in Burma," *JBRs*, XXIX (1939), 1-137.

² Introduction to Joseph Dautremere, *Burma Under British Rule* (London, 1913), 10.

versal.³ The union of India and Burma was based upon historical accident and was adopted merely as an administrative convenience, and it was never justified by any similarity between conditions in India and Burma.⁴ Burma was, in fact, merely one of the numerous British overseas possessions lying between St. Helena and the China seas which came under the government of the East India Company, and it is the most recent to have been hived off from India as were the Straits Settlements, Hongkong, St. Helena, Aden and other areas.

During the first decade of British rule it was proposed to attach Tenasserim to Penang for administrative purposes, or to return it to Burma.⁵ Until 1862 British Burma, which at that time included the three maritime provinces of Tenasserim, Pegu, and Arakan, was governed by three commissioners, usually military officers, who were severally responsible to the Governor-General of India but quite independent of each other.⁶ In that year the province of Burma was formed under Sir Arthur Phayre as the first Chief Commissioner.⁷

Since lower Burma in 1826 and 1852 came under control of the Government of India, at that time vested in the East India Company, a study of the rise of representative government in Burma involves a cursory view of the rise of responsible institutions in India, of which Burma was an integral part until April 1, 1937. Following the disastrous Indian Mutiny of 1857, the governing powers of the East India Company were cancelled, and direct government over its territories was vested in the Crown. The proclamation which brought to pass this transfer made no reference to the future form or direction of India government.⁸ Four years later the Indian Councils Act of 1861 made specific provision for the inclusion of non-official representation in the various legislative bodies in the country, thus

³ "It is not improbable that Burma would be better administered and would enjoy improved opportunities for progress if it were detached from India, as the Straits Settlements are. Those settlements might well be treated as a dependency of Burma." *Oxford History of India*, 761.

⁴ For a careful study of administrative development in Burma based upon Burmese and British documents, see Ma Mya Sein, *Administration of Burma* (Rangoon, 1939).

⁵ Sir Alexander J. Arbuthnot, *op. cit.*, 458.

⁶ Tenasserim was under the direct charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1853 to 1862.

⁷ Fytche, *op. cit.*, I, 209.

⁸ *Parliamentary Papers, 1857-1858*, II, 367. The new Act was entered as 21-22 Vict. Cmd. 106. See also Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, third ser., CLI, 1448. The Proclamation in full may be found conveniently in Smith, *op. cit.*, 727-30.

marking a definite epoch in Indian constitutional progress. Later amendments increased the number and power of these representatives, all of whom were nominated by the Governor-General.

Thus British Burma from 1826 to 1833 was within the sphere of the Governor-General in Council in Bengal; from 1833 to 1861 the authority rested with the Governor-General in Council with a Council of four members, sitting in Calcutta and exercising law-making powers for British Burma in common with all of British India. On November 14, 1834, the Governor-General of Bengal was recognized as taking precedence over the Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Lord William Bentinck became the first Governor-General of India. The title Viceroy of India was first granted to Lord Channing in 1857 at the time the East India Company's rule was abolished after the Mutiny, and the Crown assumed the government of India. From 1861 until 1897, when Burma received a Council and was created a Lieutenant-Governorship, the law-making body for Burma was the Governor-General's Council with five ordinary members and not more than twelve or less than six additional members, of whom not less than one-half were non-officials. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 increased the numbers of all legislative councils and introduced an inadequate form of election of non-official members. Burma had no seats or representatives in these councils which were in practice reserved for members from the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, and from the United Provinces. Within the compass of this study it is not possible to mention numerous minor changes in the administrative and legislative machinery of India, many of which had little effect in Burma.

BURMA AND THE INDIAN REFORM ACTS

The so-called Minto-Morley reforms under the Government of India Act (1909) were in no sense a gesture toward representative government in India. Popular government in India was considered outside the range of practical politics. By this act Burma had the numbers in her Council raised to seventeen and to thirty in 1915. By the reforms of 1909 all provincial councils were given non-official (not necessarily non-European) majorities. Resolutions could be moved, questions asked, votes taken. No resolution passed had any binding control over pro-

vincial governors nor could the councils control any department of the administration. Separate communal representation was first introduced by reserving certain seats in the Delhi Legislative Assembly for the Moslems through separate electorates. The Assembly membership was increased to sixty, of whom not more than twenty-eight might be officials.

The Declaration of August 21, 1917, given in the House of Commons by Montagu, Secretary of State for India, contained the magic words, "responsible self-government in India." The Declaration said in part:

The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.⁹

Conservative die-hards in England, drawn usually from among the older members of the House of Parliament who have seen service in India, have regretted this announcement.¹⁰ Sir Reginald Craddock, who was Lieut. Governor of Burma when the reforms of 1919 were adopted for India, has said concerning the framing of this statement by Lord Curzon, "... the insertion of these words by him is explicable only as an extraordinary temporary lapse of an otherwise brilliant brain."¹¹

This Declaration, as incorporated in the Preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, has not been repealed with the passage of the Government of India Act, 1935. It thus remains as a statement of the goal of British policy in India and Burma.¹² With good reason Burma believed that this Declaration held out to her as one of the provinces of India the pros-

⁹ Cmd. 9109, 1918.

¹⁰ To Indians, on the other hand, the reforms of 1919 seemed wholly illusory since India gained no real control over bills dealing with factories, mines, railways, shipping and navigation, waterways and ports, irrigation, customs, currency and coinage, the army, the police, law and order, or justice. One has described the Legislature Assembly as having "little more authority than a debating society." See Taraknath Das, "The Progress of the Non-Violent Revolution in India," *Journal of International Relations*, XII (July 1921), 204-14.

¹¹ Sir Reginald Craddock, *The Indian Dilemma* (London, 1930), 168. William Roy Smith, *Nationalism and Reform in India* (New Haven, Conn., 1938), is a competent, impartial account of Indian reforms.

¹² See *Proceedings of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform*, sess., 1933-34, I, Part II, 53.

pects of sharing in this increased measure of self-government. Quite the contrary actually occurred. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1918, which were incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1919, exempted Burma from the operations of the new scheme. The report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, contained the following paragraph concerning Burma:

This concludes the Committee's specific recommendations on the Bill. There remain certain other topics which do not conveniently fall within any particular clause. The first of these is the treatment of Burma, and after hearing evidence the committee have not advised that Burma should be included within the scheme. They do not doubt but that the Burmese have deserved and should receive a constitution analogous to that provided in this Bill for their Indian fellow-subjects. But Burma is only by accident part of the responsibility of the Governor-General of India. The Burmese are as distinct from the Indians in race and language as they are from the British.¹³

The Joint Select Committee based the above-quoted recommendation upon the following paragraph of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Proposals, 1918:

... we have not included Burma in our survey except in so far as, while that province remains part of the Indian polity, as for military reasons it must, it is necessary to provide for its representation in the central Government. Our reasons are that Burma is not India. Its people belong to another race in another stage of political development, and its problems are altogether different. For instance, the application to Burma of the general principles of throwing open the public service more widely to Indians would only mean the replacement of one alien bureaucracy by another. The desire for elective institutions has not developed in Burma; the provincial legislative council as constituted under the Morley-Minto scheme, has no Burma elected element; and the way is open for a different line of development. There was also a practical reason for not proceeding to investigate the particular conditions of Burma in the fact that one Lieutenant Governor had very recently laid down, and a new Lieutenant Governor assumed office. When our proposals are published there will be opportunity for the Government and people of Burma to say how far they regard them as applicable to their case. We therefore set aside the problem of Burma's political evolution for separate and future consideration.¹⁴

The proposal to exempt Burma from the reforms of 1919 aroused strong protest in Burma. The Burmese political lead-

¹³ *Parl. Papers*, 1919, IV, Clause 41, *Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919*. Hereafter cited as J.S.C. (1919). See also *Government of India Act, 1935*, Section 478.

¹⁴ *Cmd*, 9109, 1918.

ers sent deputations across the Bay of Bengal to Calcutta, and later to London, to appear before the Joint Select Committee (the Committee on the reforms of 1919 did not visit Burma). The Burmese pressed for the application to Burma "without restriction or diminution" of the principles of self-government in the provinces as expressed in the Preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919:

... with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the Provinces of India it is expedient to give to those Provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities.¹⁵

The Burmese case was ably advanced by Maung Pu who presented a paper on behalf of the Burmese deputation before the Joint Select Committee on August 19, 1919. The Burmese argument, entitled "A Plea for Burma," held in part:

Burma asks for equality of treatment with the other Provinces of India. Though holding on several points with the moderate party of the Indian National Congress, she is not criticising the provisions of the Government of India Bill. She is here simply to ask that whatever constitutional reform is granted to the other Provinces may be granted to her also. Give her that and she will be content.

It will be conceded that in legislation uniformity is desirable, and that when the constitution of a country is reformed, the reforms should apply through its whole extent, save only where good cause to the contrary exists. From the Government of India Bill three Provinces only are excepted; Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier Province, and Burma. The first two are small frontier Provinces, subject to quasi-military rule. The reason for their exception is obvious. Why has Burma, prosperous, law-abiding and governed like any other of the great Provinces, been barred, with these small and special tracts, from the benefits of the Bill?¹⁶

Mr Sydney Loo-Nee presented on the same occasion a petition from the Karens requesting protection of their minority rights.¹⁷

This agitation bore fruit in 1921 when the Secretary of State for India recommended to Parliament that the reforms inaugurated by the Government of India Act, 1919, be extended to Burma. This recommendation received the endorsement of the Standing Joint Committee of Parliament of India Affairs on

¹⁵ 9-10, Geo. 5.

¹⁶ *Report of J.S.C. (1919)*, III (appendix), M.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* (appendix), N.

May 25, 1921. The Government of Burma Act, 1921, entitled "An Act for Applying to Burma the Provisions of the Government of India Act (1919) with Respect to Governor's Provinces, and for Purposes Connected Therewith," brought Burma into line with the other provinces of the Indian Empire.¹⁸ The Governor's annual salary was set at Rs. 100,000. Eighty per cent of the members of the Legislative Council were elected; in the other provinces, seventy per cent were elected.

The question of the degree of franchise suitable for Burma, and the division of subjects into "reserved" and "transferred," were entrusted to a Burma Reforms Committee presided over by Sir A. F. Whyte. The nationalist General Council of Burmese Associations, known in Burma as the G.C.B.A., or the *Wunthanu*, organized a boycott against the Committee and refused to have anything to do with "dyarchy," the term used to describe the system whereby certain ministers are responsible to the Legislative Council while others in charge of "reserved" subjects are responsible solely to the Governor.

Following the report of the Whyte Committee, Burma was constituted a Governor's Province in January 1923. The Legislative Council was increased to a membership of 103. Burma received one advance over all the other provinces of India except Bombay in that the Forest Department was made a "transferred" subject. This was important in Burma because of the large revenues yielded from working the forests, and because three-fifths of the entire area of the province consists of forest lands.¹⁹

The period between 1920 and the visit of the Simon Commission to Burma in 1928-29 was generally quiet. There was an agitation for the establishment of "national schools," the Young Men's Buddhist Association was organized, and there were a few non-co-operators who wanted "home rule" without fully understanding what the term implied; but the influence of the Indian National Congress was not marked.²⁰ Nevertheless the G.C.B.A. flourished and its president, U Chit Hlaing, became the national hero. The Burmese divided into three parties: the Independent Party, headed by Sir J. A. Maung Gyi

18 11-12, Geo. 5. The following Command Papers contain the proposals, correspondence, and recommendations relating to the Act: Cmd. 746|1920; Cmd. 1194|1921; Cmd. 1671|1922; Cmd. 1672|1922.

19 J.S.C. (Session 1933-34), I, Part II, 229.

20 Craddock, *op. cit.*, 115 *et seq.*

who was a supporter of the Government; the moderate People's Party led by U Ba Pe; and the extreme Nationalists who boycotted the Legislative Council and remained apart.

BURMA AND THE SIMON COMMISSION

The Government of India Act, 1919, called for the appointment of a Statutory Commission

at the expiration of ten years after the passing of this Act . . . for the purpose of inquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education, and the development of representative institutions, in British India, and matters connected therewith, and the commission shall report as to whether and to what extent it is desirable to establish the principle of responsible government then existing therein, including the question whether the establishment of second chambers of the local legislatures is or is not desirable.²¹

The Joint Select Committee expressed the hope that the Committee would not be appointed until the expiration of the ten-year period. On November 8, 1927, the Viceroy of India, Lord Irwin (Viscount Halifax), published a statement announcing the intention of His Majesty's Government to advance the date of the enquiry by two years.²² His Excellency expressed the hope that the Commission would reach India early in 1928 for a short visit. The Viceroy proposed at this time that Parliament should not adopt the proposals of the Commission without first giving full opportunity for the expression of opinion by different schools of thought in India. By a Royal Warrant dated November 26, 1927, the Indian Statutory Commission, consisting of seven members under the chairmanship of Sir John Simon and known commonly as the "Simon Commission," was appointed.

On December 13, 1928, the Finance Member of the Government of Burma moved the following resolution in the Burma Legislative Council: " . . . that this Council do elect a committee of seven non-official members to confer jointly with the Indian Statutory Commission." U Ba U (Mandalay) moved, by way of amendment, that the following words be added to the original resolution: "for the purpose of determining the immediate steps necessary for the attainment of full responsible government."²³ The resolution as amended was carried, and

²¹ 9-10 Geo. 5, Part V.

²² Cmd. 2986|1927.

²³ Cmd. 3572|1930.

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²¹ 9-10 Geo. 5, Part V.

²² Cmd. 2986|1927.

²³ Cmd. 3572|1930.

a Burma Provincial Committee was elected on the same day, pledged to secure the establishment of full responsible government in Burma. The report of this co-operating committee is of interest and value because it demonstrated that the sentiment of the Council in 1929 was in favor of separation from India. It was only later that any considerable body of public opinion was aroused by the anti-separationists. The essential sections of the Committee's report are reproduced in full in Appendix I as being necessary to a careful understanding of the problem of Burma's separation from India.

When the Simon Commission presented its recommendations, it went on record as believing that a favorable time had arrived to break the union between India and Burma "which does not rest on common interests."²⁴

On June 24, 1930, the Government of India requested the Chief Secretary of the Government of Burma to forward the opinion of the Burma Government concerning Part VI of Volume II of the Simon Commission's recommendations. The Secretary of Reforms in Burma replied on August 13 with a carefully written statement of the views of the Government of Burma, pointing out that on February 18, 1929, the Burma Legislative Council had passed without a division a motion in favor of separation from India.²⁵ On August 9, 1930, the Council passed a further motion thanking the members of the Statutory Commission for having in accordance with the wishes of the people of Burma recommended the immediate separation of Burma from India, and requesting His Majesty's Government to make an early declaration of their acceptance of the recommendations of the Simon Commission.

The Secretary added that Indian opinion in Burma conceded the right of Burmans to separation and desired only that the legitimate interests of Indians resident in Burma should be protected. European business interests, through the Burma Chamber of Commerce, stated their entire agreement with the principle of separation. The Government of Burma desired on this occasion to make a number of suggestions, among which the following are worthy of special attention: (1) The separation of Burma should be the first consideration of the forthcoming Round Table Conference. (2) The Royal Commis-

²⁴ See Appendix I.

²⁵ Cmd. 3712|1930 contains the Secretary's complete reply.

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sion of Enquiry should visit Burma in January 1931. (3) A special arbitrator should be appointed to arrange the financial settlement between India and Burma. The Burma Government further urged that there should be no departure from the statement in the Preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919. On no other terms could the Government of Burma agree to separation. The Secretary expressed the additional hope "that the Commission of Enquiry will find it possible to propose for Burma a measure of constitutional advance not less liberal than that decided on for British India."

With reference to the important matter of defense the Government spoke with great reserve. There had been few instances of disorders on the China frontier; Siam had been a most amiable neighbor.²⁶ Consequently the Burma Government could not agree to the suggestion that Burma continue to contribute to the cost of the Indian army in return for Indian protection of the Northeast frontier. The Secretary added, "It is impossible to suppose that the people of Burma would acquiesce in a system whereby the vital question of her defense would be made over to an army controlled by the Governor-General assisted by the Commander-in-Chief of an entirely separated country." Thus it became clear that, in the view of the Government of Burma, if Burma were separated from India at all the separation must be complete and must include the military.

These statements of the official view of the Government of Burma were often overlooked by the anti-separationist politicians in Burma who have maintained that separation was merely a means employed by the British Government to prevent Burma from taking the same advance steps toward responsible self-government which were being proposed for India.

PROGRESS BY CONFERENCE

Meantime public opinion in Britain came to regard the recommendations of the Statutory Commission as too liberal, and "the Simon Report was quietly shelved."²⁷ Thus the way was prepared for "government by conference," a method favored by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin. The first Round Table Conference

²⁶ For a statement of Burma's foreign relations and defense problems, see Sir Charles Innes, "The Separation of Burma," *The Asiatic Review*, XXX (April 1934), 193-214. Sir Charles was Governor of Burma from 1927 to 1932.

²⁷ Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfillment of British Rule in India* (London, 1934), 636.

met in London from November 12, 1930, to January 19, 1931 under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, with Lord Sankey as Deputy President.²⁸ The first meeting was held in the Royal Gallery of the House of Lords, and was addressed by His Majesty the King; subsequent meetings were held in St. James's Palace. There were sixteen British delegates; sixteen delegates from the Native States of India; and fifty-seven delegates from British India. This number included four from Burma: U Aung Thin, U Ba Pe, U Ohn Ghine, and Sir Oscar de Glanville.

The Conference set up a Burma sub-Committee of fourteen members under the chairmanship of Lord Russell. This Committee presented its report on January 16, 1931, having reached the following conclusions: (1) The sub-Committee asked His Majesty's Government to make a public announcement that the principle of separation is accepted and that the prospects of constitutional advance toward responsible government held out to Burma as part of British India will not be prejudiced by separation. (2) The sub-Committee were of the opinion that the legitimate interests of Indian and other minorities must be safeguarded. (3) There must be a financial settlement between India and Burma. (4) Adequate arrangements must be made for the defense of Burma after separation. (5) "Central subjects," hitherto under control of the Viceroy in Council with his responsible Ministers, should be taken over by the Government of Burma. It was suggested that Burma might avail itself of certain scientific services of India, e.g. the Survey of India. (6) The Burma Committee advised that a favorable Trade Convention between India and Burma be concluded prior to separation.

The recommendations of the sub-Committee became a part of the accepted report of the First Round Table Conference.

The Second Round Table Conference, notable for the attendance of Mr. Gandhi, met in London from September 7 to December 1, 1931, in the same place and under the same chairman. The report of this Conference contains no mention of Burma; neither is any reference to Burma found in the Prime Minister's statement at the closing session, which was issued as

²⁸ The report of the First Round Table Conference, a volume in itself, was issued as Cmd. 3778/1931. See also Cmds. 2986 and 3029/1927,

the first White Paper on India.²⁹ The four delegates from Burma did not attend, owing to the formation of a separate Burma Conference which met from November 17 to December 24, 1932; there was no mention of Burmese delegates or of Burmese problems.³⁰

A special Round Table Conference for the consideration of the problems of constitutional reforms in Burma met in London on November 27, 1931, four days before the close of the Second Indian Round Table Conference, and continued until January 12, 1932.³¹ The first meeting was opened by an address delivered by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, in the King's Robing Room in the House of Lords. Later sessions were held in St. James's Palace. Earl Peel, twice Secretary of State for India, was chosen Chairman. There were nine members of the British delegation which met with twenty-four delegates from Burma; of these, two were Indians, one was Chinese, and one, Ma Mya Sein, was a Burmese lady.

In his introductory speech, Earl Peel informed the delegates that they were gathered for the express purpose of deliberating upon the outlines of a constitution suitable for a Burma separated from India. After outlining the steps leading to the calling of the Burma Round Table Conference, the Chairman directed the attention of the delegates to the announcement made on January 20, 1931, by the Secretary of State of India, "that the prospects of constitutional advance held out to Burma as part of British India will not be prejudiced . . . the constitutional objective after separation will remain the progressive realization of the responsible government in Burma as an integral part of the Empire."

Anti-separationists at the Conference, under the leadership of Tharawaddy U Pu, and U Chit Hlaing, were informed that the Conference was proceeding on the assumption that Burma was to be separated from India. As the Conference progressed, it became apparent that nearly all the delegates were agreed on the principle of separation; that is, few delegates would affirm

²⁹ The report of the Second Round Table Conference was issued as Cmd. 3997/1932; the First White Paper is Cmd. 3972/1932.

³⁰ For the Report of the Third Round Table Conference, see Cmd. 4238/1933. For an expert summary of the main features in the Indian scene see Sir John Cumming, ed., *Political India from 1832 to 1932* (London, 1932).

³¹ A full report of the proceedings of the Burma Round Table Conference was issued as Cmd. 4004/1932. The following paragraphs of this chapter are based upon the above mentioned report.

as their belief the principle of unconditional, unlimited, and permanent federation with India. The anti-separationists wished to have Burma's connection with India retained until such time as India received full dominion status. They conceived the idea that Burma would at that time be permitted to secede from the Indian Federation. Government spokesmen advised them that no such privilege could be guaranteed.

The Burmese, who regard government officials as one of the "five evils," thought, without good reason, that the Government advocated separation as a means of keeping Burma in an inferior political position as compared with the new status proposed for India. Some feared Burma would be retained as a crown colony. Burmese Nationalists were slow to believe explicit pledges to the contrary given by the Government of Burma and by the Home Government.

As the Conference progressed, a considerable agreement was reached on the main forms of the new constitution for Burma. The Prime Minister, in addressing the Conference during its final plenary session, advised the delegates of the intention of the British Government to give the electorate in Burma the opportunity of expressing their views concerning separation. He said in part:

His Majesty's Government are prepared, if and when they are satisfied that the desire of the people of Burma is that the government of their country should be separated from that of India, to take steps, subject to approval of Parliament, to entrust responsibility for the government of Burma to a Legislature representative of the people of Burma and a Ministry responsible to it, with the conditions and qualifications which I am about to specify. This responsibility would extend not only to Provincial subjects—reserved as well as transferred—but also to subjects which have hitherto been the responsibility of the Government of India.

ANTI-SEPARATIONISTS

Following the adjournment of the Burma Round Table Conference and the return home of the delegation, with the responsibility placed in part upon Burma of deciding for or against separation, the land became the scene of unprecedented political activity. The Government decided to hold an election to ascertain the views of the people of Burma on separation. The election was held in November 1932, in connection with a general election to the Burma Legislative Council. Separation was the main issue before the electorate and the contest was a

spirited one. In the first week of July, before the elections were held, a mass meeting was held in the Jubilee Hall, Rangoon, at which it was resolved to form an Anti-Separation League. The League's policy was laid down in five resolutions which rejected the Prime Minister's proposals for a constitution for separated Burma. The resolutions at the same time "protested emphatically" against permanent and unconditional inclusion in Federal India, and advocated continued opposition to separation until granted a constitution "acceptable to the people of Burma."

The electorate returned a majority of candidates from the anti-separationist group.³² The Governor thereupon accepted the resignation of the two ministers in charge of the "transferred subjects," Sir J. A. Maung Gyi, Forest Minister, and U Ba Tin, Education Minister.³³ When the Legislature assembled in December 1932, the question of the separation of Burma on the basis of the Prime Minister's proposals became the subject of a protracted debate.

The Burma Legislative Council adopted on December 22 a long resolution almost identical in terms with that adopted in the Jubilee Hall meeting which (1) opposed the separation of Burma from India on the basis of the Prime Minister's announcement; (2) emphatically opposed the permanent federation of Burma with India; (3) promised continued opposition to separation; and (4) proposed federation with India if given the right to secede at will.

This post-election impasse was accentuated by the disagreement over the choice of a president for the Legislative Council. The Burmese political leaders, U Ba Pe, Sir J. A. Maung Gyi, U Chit Hlaing and Dr. Ba Maw, declined to serve and a European, Sir Oscar de Glanville, was chosen as a compromise. He soon became unpopular, despite his ability and fairness. Resolutions for his removal were at first disallowed by the Governor, Sir Hugh Stephenson, whose action in thus declining to yield to a legislative majority became the subject of discussion in Parliament and in the British press.³⁴ Eventually the Governor yielded,

³² Among whom was Daw Hnin Mya, sister of U Chit Hlaing, the first woman elected to the Legislative Council in Burma.

³³ *Rangoon Gazette* (November 19, 1932).

³⁴ *London Times*, August 9-15, 1934. In point of fact the problem was in part racial and in part a matter of principle and the desire of the administration to establish in Burma the British parliamentary practice by which the Speakership is a non-political appointment and a Speaker, once elected, serves until he retires voluntarily.

and U Chit Hlaing, Burma's most consistent advocate of Home Rule, became President and continued in office until separation from India took effect.

The election of 1932 was engineered by the anti-separationists and the Buddhist monks who used various means of unfair and misleading propaganda to prejudice the people against separation.³⁵ U Ba Pe sent a cable message to the Secretary of State for India alleging the use of India money to influence the electorate against separation. He urged that the decision should not be regarded as one against separation, insisting that no one was satisfied with the results of the election and that no one wished permanent federation with India.³⁶ In June 1933 the question came up again in special session of the Legislative Council and despite the absence of a decision it was apparent that all favored separation, but some wished it to be postponed. It was announced in Parliament that since the Burmese people themselves could not reach a clear decision on the question of separation, the future policy would be determined by His Majesty's Government.³⁷

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY AND DECISION

An examination of the report of the Joint Committee, composed of sixteen members of the House of Lords and an equal number from the House of Commons, is necessary to an understanding of the present constitutional position in Burma. The Committee held 154 meetings between November 29, 1933, and June 18, 1934, at which more than 120 witnesses were examined. The Committee had the aid of twenty-one delegates from continental British India under the leadership of His Highness the Aga Khan and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru; in addition there were seven delegates from the Indian Native States. Burma was represented by twelve delegates chosen from among the principal racial groups of the Province; the Burma delegates were present at eleven meetings of the Committee.

At the first meeting of the Joint Committee Lord Linlithgow, who later succeeded Lord Willingdon as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, was chosen Chairman, and he was in the chair

³⁵ See Sir Charles Innes, *op. cit.*, London Times, November 14, 19, 23, 1932; Rangoon Gazette, November 18, 19, 25, 1932. See Appendix II for a sample of the extreme arguments used against separation.

³⁶ London Times, *op. cit.*

³⁷ London Times, May 8, 1933.

at each subsequent meeting.³⁸ Eighteen members of the Committee had been officially connected with governmental affairs in India. Among the eighteen were "three ex-Viceroy, three Secretaries of State for India, three Governors of Indian Provinces (including Sir Reginald Craddock, an ex-Governor of Burma), three members of the Simon Commission, including Sir John Simon himself."³⁹ This distinguished committee assembled in its Report, Proceedings, Records and Evidence the most complete mine of information yet available on constitutional India prior to the passage of the Government of India Act, 1935.⁴⁰ The complete records of the Joint Select Committee, with the exception of transcripts of the discussion with the delegates from Burma held from December 5 to 20, 1935, which were destroyed by order of the Committee, are available for study.⁴¹

Meeting between April and November 1933, the preliminary committee recorded 3,047 pages of minutes and then reported their work "incomplete." In studying the minutes of the Joint Select Committee, one encounters an embarrassment of riches. In the words of Major Attlee during the 1933-34 session, ". . . the mass of memoranda and evidence is almost beyond the power of any human being fully to digest."⁴² The work of the Committee was greatly facilitated by the willingness of Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India and a member of the Committee, to follow the almost unprecedented course of offering himself as a witness, and to reply to nearly six thousand questions during the nineteen days over which his evidence extended.

The Joint Committee was appointed to examine the proposals contained in the Indian White Paper, and to consider

³⁸ Lord Linlithgow, the son of Australia's first Governor-General under the Federation of 1900, reached India to take up his appointment, April 17, 1936, and in October 1940 his term of office was extended beyond the usual five years.

³⁹ See Viscount Halifax (Lord Irwin), "The Political Future of India," *Foreign Affairs*, XIII (April 1935), 420-30.

⁴⁰ In the preparation of this study the volumes issued by the Government of India Press, New Delhi, have been used. The same matter has been published as follows:

Vol. I, Part I, *Report; Parl. Papers, 1933-1934*, VI.

Vol. I, Part II, *Proceedings; Parl. Papers, 1933-34*, VII.

Vol. II, *Records; Parl. Papers, 1933-34*, VIII.

Vol. VII, 227-253, and VIII, 1-469, deal particularly with Burma. These volumes are hereafter cited as the J.S.C. (1933-1934). Volume I, Parts I-II, were reviewed in the *American Historical Review*, XLI (October 1935), 147.

⁴¹ J.S.C. (1933-1934), I, I.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, Part II, 254.

the future government of India.⁴³ This study entailed an examination of the Burma White Paper as well.⁴⁴ The results of the Committee's deliberations are seen in the Government of India Act, 1935, steered through Parliament by Sir Samuel Hoare as the longest measure ever passed by the Houses of Parliament.⁴⁵ The discussion in the House of Commons occupied one full month. The new constitution of India as contained in the Government of India Act, 1935, is a document of more than 430 pages,⁴⁶ containing fifteen parts and a total of 478 sections. Part XIV, containing 156 sections, which with Schedules X-XV reach a total of 105 pages, is devoted to Burma. Thus Burma's new constitution is approximately six times longer than the document under which the American government is set forth.

It is made plain in the introductory statement of Part XIV of the Government of India Act that henceforth Burma is to be governed as a unitary state.⁴⁷ It alone of the former provinces of the British Indian Empire is not placed in federal relations with the Central Government at New Delhi. The new government in Burma thus unites in itself all the powers which in the proposed Federated India would be divided between the Federal and the Provincial Governments. Burma is now under the Secretary of State for Burma (since separation the Secretary of State for India has acted in the same capacity for Burma), while the Governor-General of India in his new position has no responsibility in Burma.

As one of the legal consequences of separation the Karenni States, situated on the border between Burma and Siam, whose independence was guaranteed by a treaty with the former Burmese Kingdom in 1875 and which were formerly controlled by the Governor-General of India through the Governor of Burma, are now under the jurisdiction of the Crown, which jurisdiction is exercised directly through the Governor of Burma with-

⁴³ Cmd. 4268/1932.

⁴⁴ The Burma White Paper (with notes and an Introduction may be found in Vol. III, *Records*, of the J.S.C. in *Parl. Papers*, 1932-1933, IX, 53-94.

⁴⁵ For a brief summary of the work of the J.S.C., see *The Indian Yearbook* 1935-1936, 973-9.

⁴⁶ The official title of the Act is, The Government of India Act, 1935, 25 & 26 Geo. 5, Ch. 42. Hereafter references will be by sections of the Act as published by the Government of India Press, New Delhi.

⁴⁷ J.S.C.-1933-1934, I, Part I, Section 345. Burma was actually given three forms of government by the Act of 1935: parliamentary in Burma proper; autocratic and federal in the Shan States; bureaucratic in the other excluded areas.

out the intervention of the Governor-General of India. These States, of which Kantarrawaddi, Bawlake, and Kyebugyi are the largest, have an area of 4,000 square miles with a population of 64,000. They are not British territory but take rank technically as feudatory states on the same footing with the Native States of India.⁴⁸ Aside from the wolfram and tin of the Mawchi mines in Bawlake, the Karenni States are not important economically or politically. The Governor has charge also of the small Assigned Tract of Namwan on the northern frontier of Burma which is held on perpetual lease from China.⁴⁹ Burma is technically a "colony," since "colony" is defined in the Interpretation Act of 1889 as "any part of His Majesty's dominions exclusive of the British Islands and of British India."⁵⁰ But there is no room for the suggestion that Burma is a "Crown Colony." A recent Chief Justice of Burma has reported that Burma has "all the powers of a self-governing dominion, except the title."⁵¹ The principal difference between Burma and a completely self-governing dominion lies in the special "reserve powers" of the Governor. It was planned that, in the course of a decade or two, as political experience developed in Burma these powers would be progressively restricted. They were not intended to be used in normal times as strictures upon representative government. Since the beginning of the war in 1939 further pledges of complete self-government have been given to Burma.⁵² The existing British Indian laws until repealed or amended by the Burma Legislature continue to apply in Burma. All rights and obligations under international treaties, conventions, or agreements which were binding upon Burma as a part of British India continue to be binding upon her.⁵³

Delegates from Burma expressed the hope that His Majesty would be pleased to accept the title of King-Emperor of Burma,

⁴⁸ For terms of the original treaty, signed June 21, 1875, see C. U. Aitchison, comp., *A Collection of Treaties Engagements, and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries* (Calcutta, 1876 ed.), I, 284. For later relations with Karenni and Siam see Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*, 188-208, and Ethel Forsythe, ed., *Autobiography and Reminiscences of Sir Douglas Forsythe, C.B., K.D.S.I., F.R.G.S.* (London, 1887), 252-75.

⁴⁹ The Namwan agreement may be found in Article II of the Agreement Modifying the Burman Frontier and Trade Convention of 1st March, 1894. See *Treaties, Conventions, Etc., Between China and Foreign States*, 2nd edition (Shanghai, 1917), I, 533.

⁵⁰ J.S.C. (1933-1934), I, Part II, Section 411.

⁵¹ Sir Arthur Page, "Burma in Transition," *Asiatic Review*, XXXIV (April 1938), 228.

⁵² See p. 307 ff.

⁵³ J.S.C., Section 412.

but this was not done. The members of the Joint Select Committee pointed out that a reference to Burma in the Royal Title could only be introduced by legislation which, since the Statute of Westminster became law, would require the concurrence of the governments of the British Dominions. The Committee also declined the suggestion that the new Governor should be known as the Governor-General of Burma.

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA¹

A leading authority on Indian constitutional history has described the present instrument of government in Burma as "... a constitution of a very remarkable type, presenting the possibility of the rise of effective responsible government in a manner without parallel in India."² Since Burma's constitution contains no general powers for its revision within Burma, it has not changed greatly since its enactment. There is given here a summary of the form and powers of the administration provided for Burma.³

THE EXECUTIVE

The Governor is easily the most important person in the new scheme for Burma. The Burmese, since the first proposal to separate Burma from India, have requested that their new Governor might be a man chosen from England for his experience in parliamentary practice in London; particularly they did not want a man chosen from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service.⁴ The selection of Sir Archibald Douglas Cochrane, D.S.O., a former naval officer, and member of Parliament for Dumbartonshire, as the first Governor of separated Burma generally pleased all parties in Burma.⁵ The new Governor came from a distinguished Scottish family and it might be assumed that, not having been a party to former controversial issues, he would be free from official traditions and prejudices.

¹ This chapter is a brief of John L. Christian, *A New Constitution for Burma Under the Government of India Act, 1935*, a thesis in the Political Science Department of Stanford University, 1936.

² Arthur Berriedale Keith, *A Constitutional History of India, 1600-1935* (London, 1936), 452.

³ The references are to the schedules and sections of the Act as contained originally in the Government of India Act, 1935. To find the number of corresponding sections in the Government of Burma Act, 1935, subtract 318 from the section numbers as given in the following references.

⁴ For similar British opinion, see editorial comment in *The Spectator*, January 16, 1932, 69.

⁵ *Rangoon Gazette*, February 17, 1936. The Governor's salary is Rs. 1,20,000 per annum (about U.S. \$40,000).

In a separated Burma, the position of the Governor as chief executive requires examination. The Joint Select Committee gave careful attention to the Provincial Governors of India, and it was their intention that their recommendations for those officials apply *mutatis mutandis* to the Governor of Burma.⁶ The relation of the Governor to his ministers is unique. The Governor appoints the ministers and determines their conditions of service (the Legislature has the power to fix salaries of ministers), while the Council of Ministers has a constitutional right to tender advice to the Governor in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the Act. This right does not, however, extend to the giving of advice in fields which are reserved for the Governor's own direction and control. These "reserved" departments in Burma are: Defense, External Affairs, Ecclesiastical Affairs,⁷ the Excluded Areas, and Monetary Policy. In addition to these reserved subjects there are certain other matters, as hereafter noted, in which the Governor has "special responsibility" and is required to act upon his own judgment, possibly without reference to ministerial advice.⁸

If the Governor need not regard the advice of his ministers in respect to "reserved" subjects, nor in subjects for which he has a "special responsibility," when, if ever, is he under constitutional obligation to act upon their advice? This question is answered by the Instrument of Instruction given each new Governor, upon his appointment, by the Secretary of State after consultation with Parliament.⁹ Thus provision is made for dis-

⁶ J.S.C., I, Part I, 259.

⁷ Ecclesiastical Affairs in this connection has no relation to the Buddhist religion in Burma, but rather to the maintenance of the Church of England clergy in civil stations in Burma, and to Protestant and Catholic chaplaincies maintained primarily for the benefit of the troops.

⁸ J.S.C., I, Part II, 238.

⁹ For the Instrument of Instruction issued to the first Governor of new Burma see *Parl Papers 1936-1937*, XX, 981. The Instrument of Instruction, given anew to each Governor, should be read in conjunction with the Government of Burma Act in order to obtain a balanced view of the present administration in Burma. This method of unobtrusively effecting radical reforms is common in British colonial history. Actually, the powers of the Governor are so limited by his Instrument that in practice the ministers have effective control over almost the entire internal administration of Burma. The Act suggests that the Governor is the effective authority; the Instrument gives quite a different picture. Although the Act states that all executive action shall be in the Governor's name, it is the ministers who actually exercise power. Thus all orders are issued in the forms that "the Governor is pleased to direct. . . ." but this is a matter of form only as the ministers issue the orders and the Governor himself may be, and usually is, quite unaware of the context in ordinary matters.

cussing in Parliament at frequent intervals the question of responsibility. By this means Parliament can exercise an effective influence upon constitutional development in Burma.¹⁰

A casual reading of the new constitution may give the impression that the Governor's powers are excessive and that little remains for the representatives of the people. But it is highly probable that in the exercise by the Governor of his reserved powers he will consult with his ministers before making his decision.¹¹ The apparent severity of many sections of the Act will be softened in practice by British traditions. Responsible Government cannot be manufactured to specification. British constitutional theory could not be successfully applied even in Great Britain were it not modified by unwritten laws and mutual understandings. An illustration in point is Britain's happy tradition that a civil servant should not participate in politics. The British thesis advocates constitutional progress for Burma by evolutionary, not revolutionary, means. The constitution has the seeds of growth and change as the capacity for self-government is recognized by Parliament in London.

Appointed by His Majesty, the Governor has customarily served a term of five years.¹² His salary is not subject to vote by the Legislature in Burma, and when the Governor goes on leave to England his salary passes to the one appointed to act in his stead, and the Governor receives such allowance, in lieu of salary, as may be determined by His Majesty in Council.¹³ The executive authority of Burma extends "to the raising in Burma on behalf of His Majesty of naval, military and air forces, and to the governance of His Majesty's forces borne on the Burma establishment."¹⁴ The authority does not extend,

¹⁰ I.S.C., I, Part I, 43.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Since the coming into force of the Government of Burma Act, 1921, the following have served as Governors of Burma:

Sir Harcourt Butler	..	..	..	1922-27
Sir Charles Innes	..	..	..	1927-32
Sir Hugh Stephenson	..	..	..	1932-36
Sir Archibald Douglas Cochrane	..	..	..	1936-41
Sir Reginald Hugh Dorman-Smith	..	..	..	1941-

Sir Reginald's appointment as Governor of Burma was announced in December 1940, to take effect in May 1941. Formerly Minister of Agriculture in the Neville Chamberlain Government, the new Irish-born Governor of Burma long has been interested in agricultural problems. A graduate of Sandhurst, he served as an officer in the British Army during the Afghan War of 1919.

¹³ Act of 1935, Schedule X.

¹⁴ Section 322

however, to the enlistment of any person not a British subject or a native of India or Burma. In July 1940 the Governor was given power to conscript all British-born subjects in Burma for defense of the country.

The important subject of the Governor's ministers is introduced in the following clause:

There shall be a council of ministers, not exceeding ten in number, to aid and advise the Governor in the exercise of his functions, except insofar as he is by or under this Act required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion.¹⁵

The Governor has complete liberty of action in all matters concerning which he is required to exercise his individual discretion. He may preside at the meetings of his Council of Ministers if he desires to do so. Should any question arise in which the Act either permits or requires the Governor to exercise his individual discretion, the decision of the Governor is final and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called to question.¹⁶ These ministers are chosen and summoned by the Governor, hold office during his pleasure, provided that should a minister cease to be a member of the Legislature for a period of six months he would at the expiration of that period cease to be a member of the Governor's council. The salaries of ministers are set by the Legislature and may not be varied during the minister's term of office. The ministers enjoy further constitutional protection through the provision that "the question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by the ministers to the Governor shall not be inquired into in any court."¹⁷

Among the Governor's prerogatives is the power of appointing three Counsellors, whose salaries and conditions of service are such as may be prescribed by His Majesty in Council, and whose duties are to assist him in the exercise of special functions with respect to defense, ecclesiastical affairs, excluded areas, the control of monetary policy, currency and coinage, and foreign affairs. These Counsellors were in joint consultation with the Ministers. This co-operation was furthered by the formation of a Defence Council, of which the Counsellors and Ministers were members. Since 1940 one of the Counsellors has been a

¹⁵ Section 323. In practice the ministers are men supported by a majority of the Legislature. The new government began with six ministers, later increased to seven.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Section 324,

Burman. Sir Reginald's relations with Counsellors and Ministers were cordial. The Governor has the following additional special responsibilities:

1. The prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquility of Burma or any part thereof.
2. The safeguarding of the financial stability and credit of the Government of Burma.
3. The safeguarding of the legitimate interests of the minorities.
4. The securing to the members of the Public Service and their dependents of any rights provided for them under the Act, and the safeguarding of their legitimate interests.
5. The prevention of action which would subject goods of United Kingdom or Indian origin imported into Burma to discriminatory or penal treatment.
6. The securing of the peace and good government of the areas specified as partially excluded.
7. The prevention of any restriction upon the free exercise of his discretionary powers in any government department under his control.¹⁸

In the exercise of the above responsibilities the Governor is guided by the Instructions issued by the Secretary of State.

In addition, the Governor may appoint a person to be his financial adviser in matters pertaining to Burma's financial stability. The adviser's salary and allowances, the members of his staff and their conditions of service, are such as the Governor may determine. The Governor must consult his ministers when making an appointment to this office.¹⁹ The Governor has the further appointing power of choosing a qualified person, who holds office during the pleasure of the Governor and receives such remuneration as the Governor determines, to be Advocate-General for Burma.²⁰

Maintenance of law and order in Burma falls within the ministerial sphere. Burma's principal police force consists of two classes of civil police, the Rangoon police and the District police. More concerned with defense are the nine battalions of Burma Military Police, hitherto recruited largely from among the warlike races of northern India. Of these nine battalions, six are in the Burma Frontier Force in the excluded areas and are consequently under direct control of the Governor and the Defense Department. The three battalions of the Military

¹⁸ Section 326.

¹⁹ Section 329. The first financial adviser was Sir Idwal Lloyd, formerly finance member of the Government of Burma.

²⁰ Section 330.

Police are under the Ministry for Home Affairs. They were supported normally by a stiffening of two battalions of British troops. If at any time it appears to the Governor that the peace or tranquillity of Burma is endangered by the operations of any persons conspiring to commit crimes of violence tending to overthrow the established government, he may take any measures necessary to restore order.²¹ There is a further provision that sources of information, records or information respecting those conspiring against the organized government may be obtained and kept in secrecy.²²

All government business and all executive action of the Government of Burma is expressed in the name of the Governor; this is in contrast with the American practice of issuing legislation in the name of Congress. The arrangement of procedure in the business of government, and its allocation among the ministers, is likewise in the province of the Governor.²³ His Excellency has the appointive power where members of his personal and secretarial staff are concerned and fixes their salaries. No proceedings may lie against the Governor of Burma in any court in Burma, whether in his personal capacity or otherwise.²⁴

THE LEGISLATURE AND THE GOVERNOR'S POWERS

The most involved and detailed sections in the new constitution pertain to the Legislature and the franchise. The Legislature in the new Burma is bicameral,²⁵ consisting of a Senate with thirty-six members, and a House of Representatives with one hundred and thirty-two members.²⁶ Subject to the provision that the Legislature shall be summoned to meet at least once in each year, the Governor may exercise his discretion to summon the Chambers or either Chamber to meet at such time and place as he sees fit, prorogue the Chambers, or dissolve either Chamber or both Chambers simultaneously. The Senate, unless sooner dissolved, continues for seven years; the House of Representatives, for five years.

²¹ Section 332.

²² Section 333.

²³ Section 334.

²⁴ Section 470.

²⁵ Burma until April 1937 had a unicameral Legislative Council of 103 members of whom 84 were elected, the remainder nominated. See Sir Harcourt Butler, "Burma and Its Problems," *Foreign Affairs*, X (1932), 647-58.

²⁶ Section 335.

The Ministers, the Counsellors, and the Advocate-General have the right to speak in either Chamber or in a joint session, and to be members of committees of either House; only the ministers, however, are entitled to vote. The Senate and the House are empowered to select their President and Deputy-President, and Speaker and Deputy-Speaker, respectively. These office holders must resign their appointments if they cease to be members of the Chamber in which they serve. The President and the Speaker may resign their offices in writing to the Governor, and they may be removed from office by a majority of the House concerned provided fourteen days' notice has been given of the intention to move the resolution. The office-bearers receive a salary fixed by the Chambers; in the event of the Chamber failing to vote a salary, the officers receive remuneration as fixed by the Governor.

All questions at any sitting of the Chambers are decided by a majority of the votes of the members present and voting.²⁷ The President or Speaker may vote only in the event of a tie. The Senate must have twelve members present to constitute a quorum; in the House of Representatives one-sixth of the members must be present. No member may take part in legislative business before taking the oath of allegiance to His Majesty the King. Once having been sworn in as a member of either legislative house, no member may be absent from meetings of his House for more than sixty days without forfeiting his membership therein. No person may be a member of the two Chambers at the same time or may continue to serve as a member if he becomes disqualified by

1. Holding any office of profit (ministers excepted) under the Crown in Burma, other than an office declared by Act of the Legislature not to disqualify its holder.
2. Being of unsound mind as declared by a competent court.
3. Being an undischarged insolvent.
4. Being found guilty of corrupt practices relating to elections.
5. Conviction for crime carrying a sentence of transportation or imprisonment for more than two years, unless more than five years have elapsed since his release.
6. Failing to return an account of his election expenses.²⁸

²⁷ Section 340.

²⁸ Section 343.

Any person who sits or votes as a member of either Chamber when he is not qualified or when he has been disqualified is liable to a fine of Rs. 500 for each day on which he so sits or votes.

Members of the Legislature enjoy legislative immunity with respect to speeches in either House or in any committee of either House or in any report, paper, or vote of either House.²⁰ The meetings of the Legislature are conducted in the English language, provision being made for the use of another language by those unacquainted, or insufficiently acquainted, with English. The Chambers, alone or jointly, or any committee or officer thereof are expressly forbidden to assume the status of a court or to exercise any punitive or disciplinary powers other than the power to remove or exclude persons infringing upon the rules, or otherwise behaving in a disorderly manner.

The Legislature is empowered to provide for the punishment, after conviction by a court, of persons who refuse to give evidence or produce documents before a properly constituted committee of either House, provided that the Governor may exempt from this provision any person who is, or has been, in the service of the Crown. It is further provided that the Governor may exercise his discretion to protect confidential matter from disclosure.

To qualify for election to a seat in the Legislature, a person must be a British subject, and, in the case of the House of Representatives, not less than twenty-five years of age; for the Senate the minimum age is thirty-five.³⁰ Any member, if otherwise duly qualified, is eligible for re-election. The 132 seats in the House of Representatives are apportioned on the following basis:

Non-communal	..	..	..	..	..	92
Reserved for						
Karens	..	..	..	..	..	12
Indians	..	..	..	..	..	8
Anglo-Burmans	..	..	..	..	..	2
Europeans	..	..	..	..	..	3
Commerce and Industry	..	..	..	..	..	11
Rangoon University	..	..	..	..	..	1
Indian labor	..	..	..	..	..	2
Non-Indian labor	..	..	..	..	..	1

²⁰ Section 345.

³⁰ Qualifications for membership, and distribution of seats in the new Legislature, are set forth in the Twelfth Schedule attached to the Government of India Act, 1935.

Of the eleven members for Commerce and Industry, six were Europeans, three Indians, one Chinese, and one Burmese. In short, the Burmans could expect to occupy 94 seats in the Legislature. Thirty-eight seats would be occupied by members of other races, but including the Karens who in practice frequently voted with the Burmese majority.

The seats mentioned in the first three and the last two of the classes mentioned above are filled from territorial constituencies. The work of delimiting the constituencies in Burma has been completed. The same work in India was entrusted to a committee presided over by Sir Laurie Hammond. Sir Laurie visited Rangoon from November 5 to 12, 1935, and conferred with the Reforms Secretary of the Government of Burma, Mr. R. G. McDowell, and with a Provincial advisory committee chosen from leaders of parties and special interests. The official documents are available, and full accounts have appeared in the press.³¹ Formerly 12.7 per cent of the urban, and 20 per cent of the rural population were enfranchised. It is expected that these percentages will be somewhat unified under the new Act. Burmese opposition caused the Government to abandon its proposal for non-transferable votes to constituencies.³² The representatives of Europeans and Anglo-Burmans are chosen from the whole of Burma as the constituency. The eleven seats reserved for representatives of commerce and industry are apportioned as follows.³³

Burmese Chamber of Commerce	..	..	..	1
Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce	..	..	..	2
Nattukottai Chettyars' Association	..	..	..	1
Burma Chamber of Commerce..	..	..	..	5
Rangoon Trades Association	..	..	..	1
Chinese Chamber of Commerce	..	..	..	1

Of the thirty-six members of the Senate, eighteen are chosen by the Governor at his discretion; the remaining eighteen are chosen by the House of Representatives in accordance with the system of proportional representation, each group voting

³¹ Report by Sir Laurie Hammond, "Delimitation of Constituencies (Burma)," Cmd. 5101 in *Parl. Papers*, 1935-36, IX.

³² Rangoon *Gazette*, March 9, 16, 1936.

³³ The Chettyars are a money-lending caste from South India. These private bankers have large real-estate holdings in Burma. Citizens of China may vote for the representative of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, but the person selected must be a British subject.

separately. Casual vacancies in the Senate must be filled from among the group of which the former senator was a member.

Qualification for election to the Senate may be met by satisfying any one of the following conditions:

(1) The payment of income tax assessed on an annual income of Rs. 12,000 per annum or more; (2) the payment of land revenue amounting to Rs. 1,000 or over in lower Burma or Rs. 500 or over in upper Burma during the year preceding election; (3) previous official experience as a member of the Governor's Executive Council, or as a minister, or as a Judge of the High Court or as a permanent Deputy-Commissioner or District and Sessions Judge; or (4) other public service recognized by the Burmese title of *Taing Kyo Pyikyo Saung* or a higher rank, or any other distinguished public service which the Governor at his discretion may substitute.

Each Chamber may make rules for its own procedure subject to certain powers which the Governor may exercise at his discretion. The Governor may, after consultation with the President or the Speaker, make rules for expediting legislative business with respect to the budget. The Governor has power to prohibit, save with his consent, discussion or the asking of questions on any matter connected with foreign affairs, and discussion on matters connected with the excluded areas, or Karenni and the leased territory of Namwan.³⁴

The Governor, after consultation with the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, is empowered to make rules as to the procedure governing joint sessions of the two Chambers which sit under the chairmanship of the President of the Senate. No officer or member of the Legislature charged with regulating procedure or maintaining order in either Chamber is subject to the jurisdiction of any court in respect of the discharge of his duties. Members of the Legislature may not be members of any tribunal hearing appeals in revenue tax decisions. Likewise the Legislature is prohibited from discussing the conduct of any judge of the High Court in the discharge of his duties.³⁵ Within definite limits laid down in the Act, the Governor may place additional restrictions on free discussion in the Legislature. He may, for example, prohibit discussion on any Bill introduced affecting his special respon-

³⁴ Section 347.

³⁵ Section 349.

sibility for maintaining peace and order.

The Legislature make laws for Burma or any part thereof. The Legislature, having passed laws, will be upheld even where the effect is to give extraterritorial operation to law in the following instances:

1. To British subjects and servants of the Crown in any part of Burma.
2. To British subjects domiciled in Burma wherever they may be.
3. To, or to persons on, ships or aircraft registered in Burma wherever they may be.
4. To any person recruited in, or attached to, any military, naval or air force raised in Burma wherever they may be.³⁶

The Legislature is not empowered to make any law respecting the Crown, the Royal Family, or the sovereignty of the Crown in any part of Burma. Neither may the law of British nationality, the Army Act, the Air Force Act, or the Naval Discipline Act be affected in their operation in Burma by any enactments of the Burma Legislature.³⁷

Subject to the exception noted below in the section on finance, bills may originate in either Chamber of the Legislature.³⁸ A bill pending in either Chamber will not lapse because the Legislature has been prorogued. Without the previous sanction of the Governor, there may not be introduced in either Chamber any bill which (1) is repugnant to any Act of Parliament which extends to Burma; (2) is repugnant to any Governor's Act or Ordinance; (3) affects matters in which the Governor is required to exercise his discretion; (4) repeals, amends, or effects any Act relating to any police force; (5) affects procedure of criminal trials in which European British subjects are concerned; (6) subjects persons not resident in Burma to greater taxation than persons whose domicile is Burma, or which subjects companies not wholly controlled and managed in Burma to greater taxation than companies managed or controlled elsewhere; (7) affects the granting of reliefs from Burma income-tax for any income taxable in the United Kingdom; or (8) affects immigration into Burma from India.

Any bill relating to finance or to the Governor's reserved powers which has been passed by one Chamber, but which has not within twelve months been passed by the other Chamber,

³⁶ Section 351.

³⁷ Section 356.

³⁸ *Infra*, 92-3.

may be voted upon by the Chambers summoned by the Governor and sitting in joint session. In the ordinary procedure a bill having passed both Chambers is presented to the Governor for his assent in His Majesty's name. The Governor may, however, withhold his assent, or he may reserve the bill, pending consultation with the Home Government. Bills withheld for assent become law only if the Governor makes known within twelve months His Majesty's assent. Any act receiving the approval of the Governor may be vetoed within one year by the Home Government, in which case the Governor by public proclamation declares the act void.³⁹ The Governor may return bills to the Legislature with his recommendations for reconsideration.

The Governor's legislative powers under the new constitution extend, first, to the excluded areas, in which areas only those acts which the Governor directs will apply and with such modifications as he may indicate. The Governor's ordinance powers with respect to the excluded areas are unlimited. During a legislative recess, the Governor has power to "promulgate" ordinances which have the full effect of acts of the Legislature. The exercise of this power is subject to the following limitations:

1. The power shall be exercised only in emergencies.
2. An ordinance issued under this power shall be laid before the Legislature and shall cease to operate at the expiration of six weeks from the reassembling of the Legislature, or if a resolution disapproving of the ordinance is passed by the House and concurred with by the Senate.
3. An ordinance passed by the Governor may be withdrawn by him at any time.
4. The Governor may issue no ordinance which would be invalid as an Act of the Legislature.⁴⁰

With respect to certain subjects, the Governor has power to promulgate ordinances at any time. These ordinances have the effect of acts of the Legislature and have a life of six months with a possible extension for a similar period; they may be promulgated within the same general limitations as the issuing of ordinances during a legislative recess. If the Governor finds it necessary to extend any emergency ordinance for a period of six months, a statement of the circumstances connected there-

³⁹ This power has not yet been exercised in Burma.

⁴⁰ Section 359.

with must be laid before each House of Parliament by the Secretary of State.⁴¹

An even more important provision of the constitution and one which legally imposes the greatest restriction upon representative government in Burma under the new scheme is the emergency power of the Governor to enact laws which have all the force of regular legislation and which are superior to any subsequent act of the Legislature in the same field.⁴² The Governor may exercise this power when he deems it necessary to the proper discharge of his functions. Should circumstances arise when the Governor wishes to exercise the power, he may by message to both Chambers of the Legislature explain the circumstances which render the legislation essential and either enact forthwith as a Governor's act a bill containing the necessary provisions, or he may attach to his message a draft of the bill he considers necessary. In case the latter procedure is followed, the Legislature may within one month present to the Governor an address with reference to the proposed bill or it may suggest amendments; but it may not prevent the enactment of the bill in any form acceptable to the Governor. It is improbable that this power will be exercised frequently. Every Governor's act must be communicated immediately to the Secretary of State who will lay the measure before both Houses of Parliament.⁴³

THE FRANCHISE, SAFEGUARDS

The voting privilege is restricted to British subjects, or subjects of an Indian state, of sound mind, more than eighteen years of age and whose names appear on the electoral roll of the particular constituency for which they are eligible.⁴⁴ Enlistment in the communal electoral rolls is restricted to mem-

⁴¹ This power has not yet been exercised.

⁴² Governors of Burma have always possessed, and infrequently exercised, this power. An example of its application was the "certification" by Sir Hugh Stephenson of the Burma Criminal Law Amendment Act on February 19, 1936, after it had been rejected by the Council in a vote 23 to 44. Strictly speaking, certification means giving legislative validity to a bill that has been rejected by the Legislature as in the case of the above law, whereas a Governor's Act need not go before the Legislature at all.

⁴³ The power to cause the enactment of a Governor's act is not to be confused with the power of "promulgating" an ordinance. *Supra*, p. 88. The first instance of the exercise of this power since separation was the enactment of the Burma Frontier Force Act, 1937. The bill, rejected by the Legislature by demand for immediate and complete Burmanization, was enacted by the Governor and approved by Parliament. See *Parl. Papers 1936-37*, XX.

⁴⁴ The provisions as to franchise in Burma are detailed in Schedule XIII of the Act.

bers of the particular communities. In turn, voters by racial communities are not eligible to vote in the general non-communal constituencies. The effect of this provision is to ensure that ninety-one seats in the Legislature will be filled by members of the Burmese race. No person who is undergoing penal servitude may vote in any election.

Subject to the above provisions, a person may be included in the electoral roll of a general constituency if he (1) was in the previous financial year assessed to income tax in Burma; (2) is a retired, pensioned, or discharged officer or soldier of the regular military forces or of the police force in Burma, honorably discharged; (3) is a retired officer or soldier of the Auxiliary Force (militia) or has served in the force for four years; (4) paid in the previous agricultural year capitation tax or *thathameda* (house) tax; or (5) has attained the age of sixty years, and was not exempted from the payment of capitation tax on grounds of poverty or of being an immigrant from a country outside Burma.

A person is qualified to be entered in the general urban constituency electoral rolls if he is ordinarily a resident in the constituency, and either (1) owns immovable property in the constituency to the value of Rs. 100 or more; or (2) paid municipal taxes or cantonment taxes in Burma during the previous financial year or during any previous two financial years; or (3) occupied for not less than three months a building on which he paid a monthly rental of not less than four rupees. Provision has been made for those who occupy buildings jointly either as boarders or otherwise.

Women who fulfil the general requirements of the franchise, and who have attained the age of twenty-one years may vote if they meet the following educational requirements: they must have attained the Fourth Standard in an English, Anglo-Vernacular, or Vernacular school or be able to read and write a letter in any language or dialect to be selected by them, being a language or dialect in common use in some part of India or Burma.

It may be observed that the effect of these provisions will be to extend greatly the franchise in Burma as compared with Burma before separation. Formerly about 1,956,000 men and 124,000 women were enrolled in the electorate. Under the new Act, the numbers are increased to 2,300,000 men and 700,000

THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA

women or 23.26 per cent of the population as against 16.9 per cent before the reforms.⁴⁵ In India, with lower franchise qualifications, only fourteen per cent of the population enjoy vote. The percentage of literacy among women in Burma is much higher than among women in India. Practically all Indian women in towns, and many in the villages, are able to vote.

RESTRICTIONS ON DISCRIMINATION

Subject to the discretion of the Governor, no British subject domiciled in the United Kingdom shall be under the operation of any act of the Burma Legislature which imposes reference to place of birth, race, descent, language, religion, residence, any disability or restriction in regard to travel, residence, the acquisition or disposition of property, the holding of public office or the practice of any trade, occupation or profession. Provision is made for the operation of quarantine and the deportation of undesirables. The same conditions apply to British subjects in India (British or native Indians) and to the subjects of the Indian Native States. There is, however, no restriction on lawfully imposed regulations governing the migration of Indians or others to Burma. Thus it is now possible for the Burma Legislature, with the consent of the Governor, to limit immigration of Indians, a power for which it contended in vain as a province of the Indian Empire.

The Legislature may pass no act with validity if it seeks to impose any discriminatory taxation against companies or individuals from the United Kingdom. Should any company incorporated in Burma be granted any exemption or preferential treatment in the matter of taxation, companies incorporated in the United Kingdom automatically become entitled to the favorable treatment. The same provisions apply to companies incorporated under the laws of British India. The provisions protecting British companies against commercial discrimination extend to the field of shipping as well. No legislation favoring ships or ships' officers, crew, passengers or cargo of ships registered in Burma over those registered in the United Kingdom or British India will be valid. The same provisions apply to aircraft. Thus bills such as the Haji Coastal Reservation Bill, having as their object the reservation of the coast for the use of the Hajis, are invalid.

Indian-registered ships, are now inoperative.⁴⁶ It may be observed in passing that similar limitations have been placed in the new constitution for India and for its provinces.

Further insurance against discrimination is provided in the sections which require that any subsidies by government for the encouragement of trade and industry shall be equally available to companies registered in the United Kingdom or in Burma.⁴⁷ The Legislature may, however, make the following requirements of companies which wish to enter any branch of trade or industry which it is desired to subsidize after the passage of the Act granting the subsidy: (1) It may require the company to be incorporated under the laws of Burma. (2) It may require that not more than one-half the members of the company's directors be British subjects living in Burma. (3) It may require the company to provide reasonable facilities for the training of British subjects resident in Burma for its service.

No bill or amendment which seeks to prescribe the technical or professional qualifications requisite for any purpose in Burma may be introduced in the Legislature without the previous sanction of the Governor. The Governor may not give his sanction to the introduction of a bill if he is convinced that the operation of the bill, if enacted, would place under any disability or restriction any person who at the time is lawfully carrying on any occupation, trade or profession or who holds a public office in Burma. Any act affecting the professions requires four months' notice before it may become operative; during this period the Governor may disallow the proposed law.

No British subject, regardless of domicile, who has received a medical diploma in the United Kingdom may be excluded from practicing medicine, surgery or midwifery in Burma on the ground that the diploma held does not furnish a sufficient guarantee of competency. Any university in Great Britain may make application to the Privy Council if it feels aggrieved by any proposal in the Burma Legislature to discriminate against holders of its diplomas. Any person holding a commission as a medical officer in any branch of His Majesty's forces shall be deemed qualified to practice medicine in Burma.

Provision has been made for reciprocity in the recognition of

⁴⁶ London *Times*, September 15, 1928.

⁴⁷ Section 366.

qualified medical practitioners as between Burma and Britain. There are no restrictions on any recognized authority in the matter of suspension of any person from practice on the ground of professional misconduct. These provisions were placed in the constitution because the Burma Medical Council was before 1937 empowered to refuse to register for medical practice any person who held a diploma from a Dominion or foreign country which does not recognize Indian medical degrees. The Joint Select Committee was of the opinion that Burma should continue to recognize Indian medical diplomas, at least until medical education in Burma has reached a higher level than is the case at the moment.

FINANCE, THE STATE RAILWAYS

No attempt is made to require contributions from Burma for the Home Government. Section 374 of the new Act states, "No burden shall be imposed on the revenues of Burma except for the purposes of Burma or some part of Burma." The Governor is given wide discretionary powers in procedure followed in the payment, collection, custody and withdrawal of public moneys. It is the duty of the Governor of Burma to keep the Secretary of State and the High Commissioner representing Burma in London supplied with money for the payment of such pensions as fall due in the United Kingdom.

The Governor through his ministers is required to furnish both Chambers of the Legislature with a statement of the estimated revenues and expenditures of the Burma Government for the financial year. The budget must show separately the sums the Governor proposes to spend in the discharge of his special responsibilities. The following expenses are chargeable against the revenues of Burma:

1. The salary, allowances and expenses relating to the Governor and his office.
2. Debt charges for which the Government of Burma is liable, including interest, sinking fund and redemption charges.
3. The salaries and allowances of the ministers, of the Counsellors, of the financial adviser and his staff, and of the Advocate-General.
4. The salaries, allowances, and pensions of Judges of the High Court.
5. Expenditures with respect to defense, ecclesiastical affairs, monetary policy and coinage, the excluded area: provided that the expenditure on ecclesiastical affairs in any one year shall not exceed Rs. 2,84,000 exclusive of pensions.

6. Any sums which the Governor, in his discretion, may require to pay suitable pensions to any members of the family of the former Ruler of any territories in Burma.⁴⁸

The power of the Legislature in the matter of budget estimates is restricted. There is permitted no discussion with reference to the Governor's salary or allowances. Any other expenditure which is charged upon the revenues of Burma may be the subject of discussion in the House of Representatives. Following the usual British procedure, the House has the power to assent to, or refuse to assent to, or assent subject to a reduction in the amount of estimates relating to any other expenditure. In the event of this power being exercised in a way affecting the Governor's special responsibilities, he may then authenticate over his signature a schedule of authorized expenditures. The schedule thus authenticated is "laid before the House of Representatives, but shall not be open to discussion or vote in the Legislature."⁴⁹

Financial bills may be introduced only in the House of Representatives and only on the recommendation of the Governor again acting through his ministers. This provision applies to bills which make provision for imposing or decreasing any tax, regulating public borrowing, or regulating any expenditure upon the revenues of Burma.⁵⁰ Exception is made in the case of bills for the imposition of fines, license fees, or fees for services rendered.

The Auditor-General is appointed by the Crown and may be removed from office only in "like manner and on like grounds" as a judge of the High Court. Having once held office as Auditor-General, no person is eligible to hold office again under the Crown in Burma.⁵¹ His salary, rights to leave of absence, pension or age of retirement shall not be varied to the disadvantage of the Auditor-General after his appointment to office. Reports of the audit are placed before the Governor and the Legislature. The Auditor prescribes, with the consent of the Governor, the form in which accounts are kept.

Executive authority in respect to the construction, mainte-

⁴⁸ Section 377.

⁴⁹ Section 379. The effect of this article is that the Legislature may debate but not assent to, or refuse to assent to, the budget relating to the Governor's reserved functions.

⁵⁰ Section 381.

⁵¹ Section 384.

nance and operation of the state-owned Burma Railways is vested in the Railway Board, a corporate body which may sue and be sued as if it were a company operating the Railways.⁵² The Board consists of a president, the chief executive officer of the railway, and eight other members. of whom two are officials. Of the six non-official members, two are appointed by the Governor and one by each of the following groups: The Burma Chamber of Commerce, the Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce, the Burmese Chamber of Commerce, and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. The non-official members are appointed for five years, but any of them may be removed from office at any time by the Governor if he deems the person unfit or unsuitable for the office. To be a non-official member, one must have had experience in commerce, industry, agriculture, finance, or administration, or have been a member of the Legislature, a government official or a railway officer. The members, including the president, receive salary as determined by the Governor. Any member of the Board interested in any firm tendering bids for railway contracts may take no part in the discussion or vote relative to the contract. The Board is exempt from the payment of Burma income tax or supertax. Contracts made by the Board are enforceable against it and not against the Government. The Government, however, exercises the right of eminent domain on behalf of the Railway Board. The Board is in control of the "Railway Fund" which is built up from the operating revenue of the road. These revenues are used to defray the ordinary working expenses of the railways including pensions and depreciation.⁵³ Any surplus resulting from the operation of the railway is apportioned between the Board and the Government by agreement. In the event of disagreement over division of surplus, the Governor has power to make a division, and the part falling to Government becomes a part of the revenues of Burma. The Board is required to use the bank designated by the Government for transaction of its banking business. The Burma Railways, which have borrowed from the Government of India for construction purposes, are required to refund the money to the Government of Burma, as a part of the financial settlement between India and Burma.

The Auditor-General is required to audit the railway ac-

⁵² Section 387.

⁵³ Section 392.

counts, and to arrange the form in which the annual statement of the report of its operations is published.⁵⁴ The Governor may from time to time establish a Railways Rates Committee which advises the Board in disputes with the public over rates or service rendered. The public in Burma has in the past been represented on the Railway Advisory Council, and consulted in matters pertaining to state-owned railways. Public opinion has influenced railway policy, particularly in the matter of facilities and services of the trains.

THE HIGH COURT

The High Court in Rangoon consists of the Chief Justice and such other judges as His Majesty may appoint.⁵⁵ A judge, who normally holds office until the age of sixty, may resign his office by addressing the Governor, and he may be removed from office "by His Majesty by warrant under the Royal Sign Manual on the ground of misbehaviour or of infirmity of mind or body," if so adjudged by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

To be qualified for appointment to the High Court, a person must (1) be a barrister of England or Northern Ireland of at least ten years' standing, or a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Scotland for a like period; (2) be a member of the Indian Civil Service or the Burma Civil Service (Class I) of at least ten years' standing; (3) have held for at least five years judicial office in Burma "not inferior to that of a District Judge, or Judge of the Small Cause Court in Rangoon"; or (4) have been for at least ten years an advocate of the High Court in Rangoon.

Except in the case of barristers, no person may be appointed Chief Justice until he has served at least three years as a judge of the High Court. Judges of the court take their oath of office before the Governor.⁵⁶ The salaries, allowances, leaves of absence, and pensions of judges of the High Court are determined by His Majesty in Council, not by the Governor. The power to fill temporary vacancies in the office of the Chief Justice or of any judge rests with the Governor, who may also appoint, within limits, temporary judges in the event of temporary increases in

⁵⁴ Section 396.

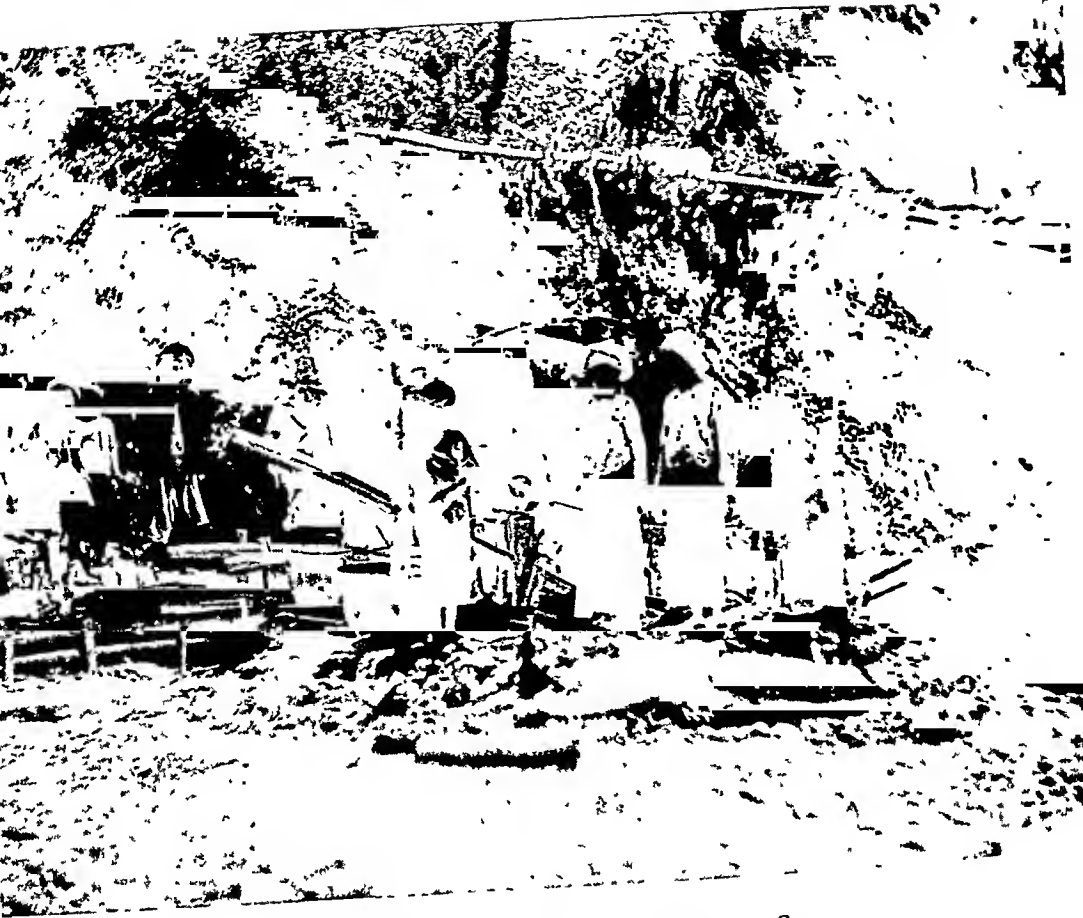
⁵⁵ Section 399.

⁵⁶ The form of the oath taken by a judge of the High Court is given in Schedule XIV.

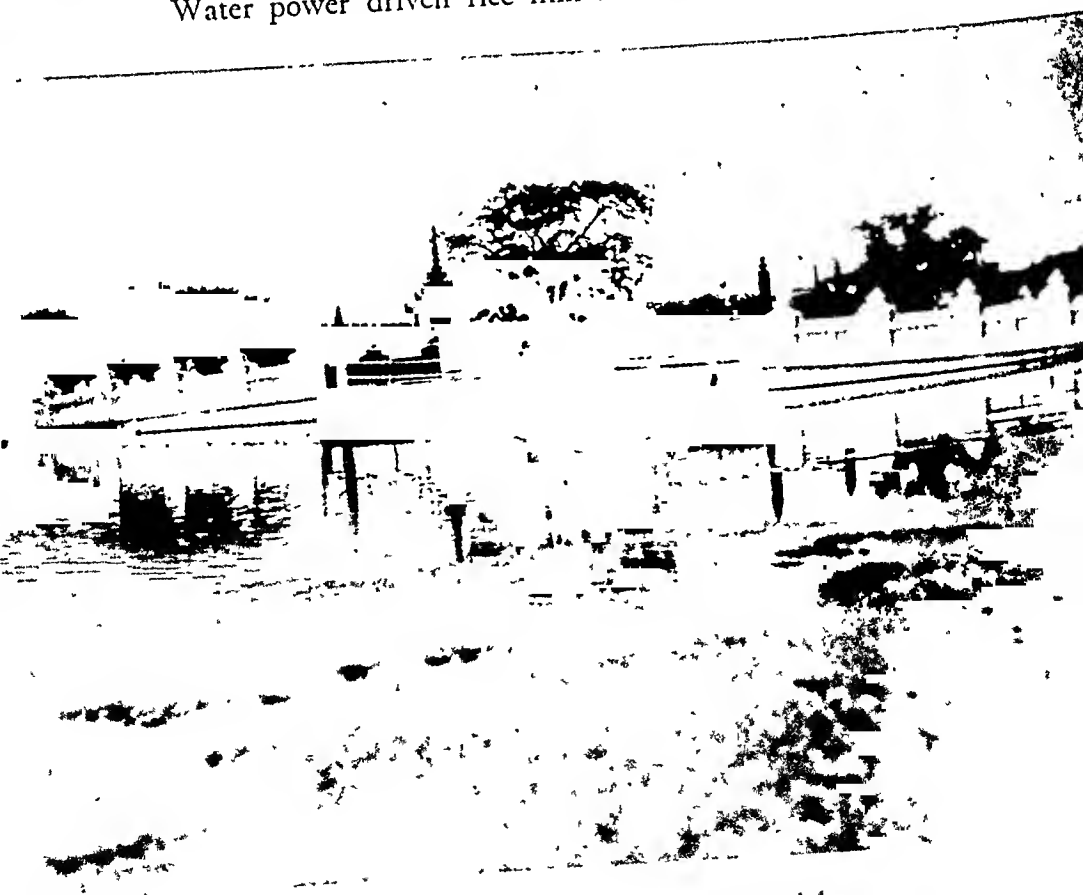


Typical Shan Villagers.





Water power driven rice mill in the Shan States.



Moat and Wall of the old palace, Mandalay.

the business of the High Court; such temporary judges may hold office for not more than two years.

The High Court has superintendence over all inferior courts over which it has appellate jurisdiction and regulates their procedure and settles rates of fees for sheriffs, attorneys, clerks and officers of the courts. English is the official language of the High Court. Bills seeking to alter the jurisdiction of the courts may be introduced into the Legislature only with the previous sanction of the Governor. Judges of the High Court who were in office at the passage of the Act (1935) continue in office until they reach the retirement age, while the pensions of judges who retired before the passage of the Act are not chargeable to the revenues of Burma.

With Burma on the eve of the new government, the Rangoon Bar Association and the Burmese Chamber of Commerce petitioned the Secretary of State and the Viceroy urging the appointment of Mr. Justice Mya Bu, then Senior Judge of the High Court, to the office of Chief Justice on the retirement of Sir Arthur Page.⁵⁷ The Home Government, however, appointed Sir Ernest Handforth Goodman Roberts, King's Counsel, from the United Kingdom. Thus the new constitution was inaugurated under a new Governor and a new Chief Justice.⁵⁸ The high standard of British justice in the East is maintained in Burma.

THE SERVICES OF THE CROWN

The pay, allowances, and pensions of persons serving in the defense forces in Burma are chargeable to the revenues of Burma. The Burmese, as distinct from Karens, Kachins, and Chins, have hitherto not been enrolled in the army in any considerable numbers. Provision is made in Section 410 of the Act for the granting of commissions to those who qualify. Burma will have the support of the Imperial forces, but in the future she will have greater responsibility for her own defense.

With the beginning of negotiations which preceded the Government of India Act, 1935, members of the Indian Civil Service, and the other imperial services, became anxious for the preservation of their dignities and positions in the highest paid civil

⁵⁷ Rangoon *Gazette*, January 13, 1936.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, March 2, 1936. At present (1940) Burma has her original Chief Justice and eight puisne judges: Sir Mya Bu, A. G. Moseley, U Ba U, H. F. Dunkley, J. H. H. Mackney, R. T. Sharpe, J. Shaw, and J. B. Blagden.

service in the world.⁵⁹ The new Act, in its relation to Burma, provides safeguards for the entrenched services. They are beyond the reach of the Legislature; they continue to be appointed by the Secretary of State; they may not be removed from office by any authority subordinate to that which appointed them, except that the Governor may deal with any person in the service of the King in a civil capacity in a way which seems to him equitable.⁶⁰ The same provisions are extended to the subordinate ranks of the police force in such a way that police personnel are responsible to the Governor rather than to the Legislature.

As a rule, Europeans were found only in what were called the Class I Services of Government. All other grades of the civil services were manned by Burmans and Indians. Though Burmans formed the majority of such officials, the percentage of Indians was unexpectedly large. This was due partly to the fact that Burma, until 1935, was a province of India, and partly to a lack of qualified Burmans in some branches of work. The Class I Services, at one time, were staffed almost exclusively by Europeans, but, in consonance with British policy of associating the people of the country in local administration and training them for eventual self government, non-Europeans were being introduced in increasing numbers into their ranks. The number of Europeans and non-Europeans in the major Class I Services in 1939, immediately before the outbreak of the present war was as follows:—

						<i>British</i>	<i>Nationals</i>
Executive	..	..	..	..	..	71	60
Judicial	..	..	..	..	..	19	19
Frontier	..	..	..	..	..	24	17
Police	..	..	..	..	..	56	24
Agriculture	..	..	..	..	..	9	4
Veterinary	..	..	..	..	..	4	3
Forest	..	..	..	..	..	62	15
Education	..	..	..	..	..	12	10
Medical	..	..	..	..	..	22	18
Public Works	..	..	..	..	..	49	12
Railways	..	..	..	..	..	68	14
Posts and Telegraphs	..	..	..	..	..	10	4

⁵⁹ See G. T. Garratt, "The Indian Civil Service," *Asia*, XXVI (1936), 181 *et seq.* L. S. S. O'Malley, *The Indian Civil Service 1601-1930* (London, 1931), and Sir Edward Blunt, *The Indian Civil Service* (London, 1937), are excellent recent accounts.

⁶⁰ Section 415.

The Class I Services were well paid; some have said excessively paid. But they have consistently set a tone and a standard of public duty in keeping with high British traditions of State service. The conditions of employment of the members of the more important of these Class I Services were directly controlled by the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State has large powers in determining the number of posts under the Crown in Burma which are filled by his appointment. Without the previous consent of the Secretary of State no post may be kept vacant for more than three months, be filled otherwise than by his appointment, or be held jointly with any other post.⁶¹ Further, the conditions of service, pensions, pay, leave, medical attendance, allowances, or promotions of members of the services are regulated by the Secretary of State, or by the Governor acting in his behalf. Any member of the service is guaranteed the right to carry to the Governor and the Secretary of State, at public expense, any appeal or complaint relative to his treatment or conditions of service. The Secretary of State may order paid from the revenues of Burma any just compensation to a person appointed to a civil service post in Burma. Pensions paid to persons retired outside Burma in connection with service rendered in Burma are not subject to income tax in Burma. Despite the fact that government service is well protected in Burma, there are no sinecures.

Appointments to the judicial service in the ranks of district and sessions judges are made by the Governor in consultation with the High Court. The same rule applies to the appointments of members of the subordinate judicial civil service; promotions in this service rest with the High Court. Thus it will be seen that Burma's judicial service is highly centralized.

The Act of 1935 created a Public Service Commission appointed by the Governor under conditions of salary and pension arranged at his discretion.⁶² At least half of the members of the Commission must have held office under the Crown in India for a period of not less than ten years. The Chairman of the Commission is ineligible for further service under the Crown in Burma, and no member may subsequently accept government service in Burma except by approval of the Governor. The duty of the Commission is to conduct examinations for

⁶¹ Section 422.

⁶² Section 437.

appointment to the civil services. The Commission is, in practice, consulted in (1) all matters relating to recruitment to the civil services, (2) appointments, promotions, transfers of members of the services, (3) disciplinary matters relating to members of the services, (4) claims against the government on the part of any member of the service, and (5) a claim by any member of the services that his conditions of service have been adversely affected by the separation of Burma from India.⁶³

The Public Service Commission need not, however, be consulted in case of the subordinate ranks of any police force in Burma. An Act of the Legislature, subject to the Governor's approval, may provide for the exercise of additional functions by the Commission, but not with respect to any member of the superior civil services. Public servants are protected against civil or criminal suits which may arise out of their conduct in the discharge of their official duties. The Secretary of State appoints a few chaplains to Burma, who are subject to the general provisions which apply to the civil services. These chaplains serve in Anglican churches and in civil and military stations.

No person, not a British subject or the subject of any specified Indian state, is eligible to hold any civil office under the Crown in Burma. The Governor may, however, authorize the temporary employment for any purpose of a person who is not a British subject. Women are as eligible as men for appointment to any civil service post in Burma.⁶⁴ Women have already served as members of the Legislative Council, members of municipal councils, and as village "headmen."

THE EXCLUDED AREAS

Many varying degrees of political development are found among the peoples of Burma. The central and southern sections of the country constitute Burma proper to which the more liberal provisions of the new constitution apply. In the vast horseshoe of hills which surround the central plains live many primitive tribal groups that obviously are retarded politically as compared with the Burmese who have had greater opportunities for orientation in law and politics.

The Burma White Paper proposed the division of these outlying territories into "excluded" and "partially excluded"

⁶³ Section 438.

⁶⁴ Section 445.

areas.⁶⁵ The excluded areas, formerly known as the "backward tracts," comprise an area of 90,222 square miles with a population of nearly two million.⁶⁶ The partially excluded areas are those which were formerly under the jurisdiction of the Burma Legislative Council, but without power to elect members thereto, and which were excluded from the operation of the Burma Rural Self Government Act. Approximately 23,000 square miles of territory inhabited by 370,000 people are known as "partially excluded areas."⁶⁷ These two areas together include forty-three per cent of the total area of Burma; however, since they are rather sparsely settled, they contain only fourteen per cent of the population.

The difference between the excluded and the partially excluded areas is one of kind and not of degree. Briefly stated, the partially excluded areas are those which have accepted to a greater or less degree the same general type of civilization found in the other parts of Burma. It is understood that the Government will from time to time review the administration of these areas and it is believed that in time they will be merged with Burma proper.⁶⁸ For the present only such acts of the Legislature as the Governor directs apply in these areas. Their peace and good order are one of the Governor's "special responsibilities" in administration.⁶⁹

On the other hand, the "excluded areas" are those whose inhabitants differ from the other peoples of Burma in kind of civilization, and where an almost complete reversal or abandonment of tribal customs would be necessary before they could be incorporated into the political life of the remainder of Burma.⁷⁰ It may be observed that in general the inhabitants of the excluded areas are Shans, Chins, and Kachins. Of these the peace-

⁶⁵ *Burma White Paper*, Proposal X.

⁶⁶ For a map and brief description of the excluded areas see *London Times*, August 25, 1934.

⁶⁷ The partially excluded areas are:

1. Myitkyina and Bhamo Districts other than the Kachin Tracts.
2. The Homalin Sub-division and part of the Mawlaik Sub-division of the Upper Chindwin District.
3. Kyain Township and Myawaddy Circle of the Kawkaik Township and parts of the Karen Hill Tracts of Eastern Toungoo District and Thaton District.

⁶⁸ Section 473.

⁶⁹ Section 326.

⁷⁰ Schedule XI of the Act lists the areas in Burma to which the special provisions apply. The excluded areas are:

ful Shans are the most advanced in civilization. The Shans are an ancient people akin to the Thai of Siam and Southern China, not recent arrivals in Burma as are the Kachins. The Shans were the dominant race in Burma from 1287 to 1531.⁷¹ The Federated Shan States are the most important of the "excluded areas." Among many peoples of the "excluded areas" the sole political concept is one of antipathy for the peoples of the plains. Large blocks of northern Burma at present are unadministered or lightly administered tribal areas. Among these are the Triangle and Hukawng Valley where during 1927-29 nearly 9,000 slaves were released by British expeditions. Concerning these remote areas between Assam and the Tibetan-Chinese frontier, the reports for 1930-31 expressed official satisfaction that "... no cases came to light during the year of slaves being sold or offered as human sacrifices."⁷² To these little-known regions belong also the Wa States on the Chinese frontier. These states, never fully explored, have an area of about 2,000 square miles, and it is along their northern borders that Burma's boundary with China was surveyed by the Iselin Commission.⁷³

Isolated waves of the Shan invasions of Burma cast up on distant shores away from the main body of the present-day Shans, the unfederated Shan States are of little importance. These are the two isolated states of Hsawnghsup and Singaling Hkamti in the Upper-Chindwin District and eight petty hereditary chieftainship in the Myitkyina District known as the Hkamti Long States—all with a total area of 1,183 square miles and a population of 7,506 in 1931.

Detailed financial arrangements between Burma and the Shan States were not a part of the new constitution but were settled by an Order in Council.⁷⁴ The States continue to have

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1. The Federated and Unfederated Shan States.
 2. The Arakan Hill Tracts.
 3. The Chin Hill Districts.
 4. The Kachin Hill Tracts of the Myitkyina, Bhamo and Katha Districts.
 5. The Somra Tract.
 6. The area known as the Triangle.
 7. The Hukawng Valley.
 8. The Salween District.
 9. All unadministered tribal areas.

⁷¹ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 73, *et seq.*

⁷² "Moral and Material Progress of India During the Year 1930-31" in *Parl. Papers* 1931-32, XIX, 23-4.

⁷³ *Infra*, 161.

⁷⁴ Section 386.

a Federal fund. It is apparently the intention to maintain unity among the States and to preserve their fiscal and administrative separation from Burma proper. In the main, the excluded and partially excluded areas are administered by the Burma Frontier Service, the members of which are appointed by the Governor under terms of salary and pension framed by him.⁷⁵ The money required for the Governor's administration of these areas is not subject to legislative vote.⁷⁶ The reserved forests in the Shan States and elsewhere are under the management of the Forest Department of the Government of Burma, but subject to an increasing degree of control by the several States.⁷⁷

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

In a land which supports many racial and religious minorities, there must be safeguards for minority rights. These are provided in a section modeled on the "Queen's Proclamation." It ensures that

No subject of His Majesty domiciled in Burma shall on grounds only of religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be ineligible for office under the Crown in Burma, or be prohibited by any law of Burma on any such grounds from acquiring, holding, or disposing of property or carrying on any occupation, trade, business or profession in Burma.⁷⁸

The constitution contains detailed regulations covering acquisition of private property for public purposes. One section akin to the American "due process" clause reads, "... no person shall be deprived of his property in Burma save by authority of law."⁷⁹

With the inauguration of Burma as a separate government, the new state inherited all property formerly used by the Government of India in Burma. Exempted were military stores, equipment, money and bank balances, the property of His Majesty's Indian forces formerly stationed in Burma.⁸⁰ Burma assumed all credits and debits of the former provincial government of Burma. Burma may collect and retain all arrears of

⁷⁵ Section 431.

⁷⁶ Section 377.

⁷⁷ J.S.C., I, Part I, 272.

⁷⁸ Section 462. However, no member of the Buddhist Monastic Order may be elected to the Senate or the House. See abstract of Order in Council in Rangoon *Gazette*, March 30, 1936.

⁷⁹ Section 463.

⁸⁰ Section 448.

taxes outstanding at the adoption of the Act. The executive authority in Burma extends to the grant, sale, disposition, or mortgage of property for the purposes of government in Burma, and to the making of contracts. The official residences of the Governor are, however, at the disposal of the Governor alone, and may not, without his consent, be sold or devoted to other uses. The Governor and Secretary of State may not be held personally responsible for any contracts made by them in their official capacities or under their direction for any purposes of the government.

Under a section similar to that which caused the Indian National Congress to boycott the new constitution in India, the Governor is given complete power to assume to himself "all or any of the powers vested in or exercised by any body or authority in Burma" in the event of a breakdown of the constitutional machinery. Burma accepted the section without substantial protest. The High Court alone is beyond the exercise of these emergency powers of the Governor, which powers may be assumed for a period of six months by proclamation, and may be further extended subject to the approval of both Houses of Parliament. The British have acted under similar provisions in the constitutions of Malta, Ceylon, and Cyprus where the governors have suspended the constitutions in whole or in part during emergencies.

The Secretary of State is empowered to appoint not more than three persons to serve as his advisers on questions concerning Burma. These advisers are appointed for a term of five years on an annual salary of £1,350. At least one of these advisers must have seen at least ten years' service under the Crown in Burma, including active service to within two years of the date of his appointment.⁸¹ They may be consulted individually or collectively and their advice followed at the discretion of the Secretary of State. The expenses and salary of the Secretary of State are paid, not from Burma's revenues, but from money provided by Parliament. Any special expenses incurred on behalf of Burma may be charged to her revenues.

Likewise for the transaction of business of the Government of Burma in England, the Governor has the power to appoint a person as High Commissioner for Burma in the United King-

⁸¹ Section 450.

dom.⁸² His salary and the number of salaries of the members of his staff are likewise determined by the Governor. His duties include the making of contracts for the government and for the Railway Board. The granting of pardons and remissions is reserved to the King and to the Governor, while the power to make alterations in the boundary lines of Burma is reserved for His Majesty alone.

The Government of Burma may sue and be sued in court.⁸³ Suits involving the Government of Burma or the Railway Board originating in the United Kingdom are directed against Burma's representative in London as designated by the Legislature. Contracts made before separation from India are binding upon the new Government of Burma. All sums ordered to be paid by way of damages, debts or costs are charges against the ordinary revenues of Burma.

The net effect of Burma's elaborate and detailed constitution is the provision of ample safeguards during the transition from authoritarian rule. However, few of the apparently restrictive provisions have been employed, and there is every reason to believe that Britain's pledge to grant progressive self-government to Burma will be fulfilled dependent upon the development of political responsibility and experience in that country. The new constitution is intended to be a Moses leading the Burmese into the promised land of national liberty rather than a Metternich devoted to the old order of autocratic government.

⁸² In practice, the High Commissioner for India has continued to act in the same capacity for Burma.

⁸³ Sect. 450. This function is limited to certain types of cases involving the commercial and quasi-commercial powers of the East India Company as inherited by the Secretary of State.

CHAPTER VII

AGRICULTURE

Burma is predominantly an agricultural country; moreover all of lower Burma is a one-staple area, with rice everywhere the important cash crop. Nearly seventy-one per cent of those gainfully employed in Burma are engaged in agriculture or forestry;¹ only ten per cent of the country's workers find employment in industry. Complete statistics on the condition of agriculture in Burma are available. An annual report is issued, supplemented by daily statements in the Rangoon press on yield, prices, exports, receipts, foreign and domestic demand as tabulated by leading Rangoon firms of rice brokers. In addition the government issues a weekly estimate of yield and prices based upon weather, rainfall, demand and other factors. The annual *Report on the Administration of Burma* gave a summary on the progress of agriculture and the economic condition of the peasantry.²

Settlement Reports, of which forty-two are available from the Government Press, Rangoon, contain an immense amount of data on agricultural holdings, land yields, prices, indebtedness and earnings of the people of Burma. These reports serve as a basis for determining rural taxation. The annual *Report on the Land Revenue Administration of Burma* and the annual *Report on the Land Records Administration of Burma* should be consulted for current information on administration of the land. No detailed information is available as to the average size of agricultural holdings in Burma as a whole. However, according to the *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1861-62*, the average size of a farm in lower Burma was then from eight to ten acres. In lower Burma today the situation is vastly different and there is a concentration of farm lands in the hands of landlords until in the Pegu and Hanthawaddy Districts, near

¹ *Census Report, 1931*, 128.

² See *Agriculture Season and Crop Report* (Rangoon, annually), *Report on the Administration of Burma* (Rangoon, annually until 1936, the last year of publication), and *Report of the Agricultural Department* (Rangoon, annually). The leading Rangoon newspapers print the weekly market reports.

Rangoon, and in the Irrawaddy Division, there are numerous farms of three to four hundred acres. In upper Burma a farm of eighty acres is large, the holding of the average cultivator being somewhere between five and fifteen acres. Rural conditions in lower Burma, with its large farms frequently the property of absentee landlords and growing rice almost exclusively, are so vastly different from those in upper Burma that the two areas must be dealt with separately.

LOWER BURMA

In all of lower Burma south of Thayetmyo and Toungoo, with the exception of the Tenasserim peninsula, all crops other than rice are of such minor importance that they may be ignored. Rubber to the amount of less than 10,000 tons annually is the only other agricultural export from lower Burma.

Before the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, few Oriental countries had developed an export trade in rice to any but adjacent countries. Burma had a negligible rice trade before the British conquest of the Arakan coast in 1824, but as late as 1845 the rice exports totaled only 74,000 tons.³ By 1861, exports had risen to 160,000 tons, of which the greater part went across the Bay of Bengal to India. The present export from the Arakan port of Akyab is about 250,000 tons—less than ten per cent of the total Burma surplus. By 1852 Britain had annexed all of the maritime provinces of the Burmese Empire, and aided by the American Civil War which shut off Britain's usual supply of rice from Carolina, rice cultivation was undertaken in earnest. During the first year in which traffic passed through the Suez Canal, Burma's rice exports grew to 500,000 tons, of which four-fifths moved to European markets.⁴

During the decade 1930-40 Burma, Thailand, and French Indo-China exported an annual total of 6,300,000 tons of rice, milled and in the husk. Of this huge export Burma's normal share was nearly 3,500,000 tons—more than half the total. During the 1933-34 season Burma's rice exports reached a record total of 3,779,000 tons. It is no unusual sight to see as many as twenty ocean-going ships loading rice in the Rangoon River

³ F. B. Leach, "The Rice Industry of Burma," JBRS, XXVII (April 1937), 61-73.

⁴ For a convenient summary of rice cultivation and export in Burma from 1830 to 1937, see J. S. Furnivall, *An Introduction to the Political Economy of Burma* (Rangoon, 1931, 1938), App. II, III. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to J. R. Andrus' 1938 revision of Furnivall's compact study of economic Burma.

during the height of the milling season. It will be seen readily that annual fluctuations in price and quantity of rice exports have a most telling effect upon the entire domestic economy of Burma. Rice export prices reached their lowest level in recent history during April 1934, when the price was only forty per cent of the 1929 level.

What are the prospects for increasing this exportable surplus of rice and what are its probable markets? Burma has about 12,500,000 acres under rice, of which some 10,000,000 acres are in lower Burma and consequently favored by a remarkably abundant and constant monsoon rainfall. Lower Burma has never known a crop failure or a famine. It is, in fact, one of the most constantly productive agricultural areas in the world. Much of this rice land was brought under the plow within the past half-century. In 1891 the area in rice was only 4,868,000 acres. For years Burma had in its jungles a frontier with all the socio-economic implications which characterized the American frontier. An early *Season and Crop Report* indicated that the best harvest in lower Burma was "the number of immigrants from upper Burma."

However, the limit has been reached, and Burma has now no large cultivable areas not under rice. The notoriously malarial Hukawng Valley in upper Burma, at present a vast game refuge, remains the only considerable area which is not cultivated, and it is not likely to see threshing floors within one or two generations. Expensive river embankments or irrigation or drainage works would be required to increase the cultivated area to any great degree. With a rapidly growing population of nearly 17,000,000, Burma is not likely to have an exportable surplus of more than 3,500,000 tons of rice within the predictable future, particularly since no great headway has been made in improving rice yields or providing cheap fertilizer.⁵ The present status of the rice industry in Burma, according to the latest information available, is given below.⁶

During the 1938-39 season the amount actually exported from Rangoon and outports was 3,604,000 tons. The prices ob-

Year	Acres Planted	Yield in Tons	Exportable Surplus
1938—39.....	12,841,000	5,950,000	3,550,000
1939—40.....	12,854,000	5,176,000	3,200,000

⁵ *Infra*, p. 114.

⁶ *Burma Trade Journal*, II, Pt. IV (April 1940).

tained during the 1939 season were the highest during the decade. The price began at Rs. 185 per 100 baskets during January 1939.⁷ In October the price had risen to Rs. 275 per 100 baskets. Despite the intervention of the European war with higher freight and insurance rates, the price declined only to Rs. 263 by the end of December, a feature of the late trading being the entrance of Japanese shippers into the Rangoon market. The exports of Burma rice for the period January 1—June 1, 1940, with totals for the corresponding period in 1939, follow:⁸

<i>Destination</i>	<i>January—June 1939</i>	<i>January—June 1940</i>
Continental Europe	153,604	2,908
United Kingdom	119,380	105,539
America	18,178	7,196
West Indies	18,401	17,150
Africa	25,184	24,275
Egypt and Red Sea ports.....	27,001	14,704
Ceylon	135,912	123,461
China	9,974	32,900
Straits Settlements	115,236	78,742
Netherlands Indies	49,588	none
Australia	1,836	1,847
Japan	1,850	191,711
South India	340,716	207,939
Bombay	141,076	82,586
Totals.....	1,377,460	1,042,190

Japan, which before the World War imported about 250,000 tons of Burma rice each year, now grows almost her entire rice requirements within her Empire. Japanese economy is aimed toward self-sufficiency in food supplies, and during the 1930's she imported only a few thousand tons of Burma rice each year. During the first three-quarters of 1938 Japan took no Burma rice at all, as opposed to loadings of 38,269 tons for the corresponding period of 1937.⁹ Reports from Burma have given no conclusive reason for Japan's remarkable increase from 1,850 tons during the first five months of 1939 to 191,711 tons during the same period of 1940.

However, it was stated in the September 1940 session of the Burma Legislature that increased loadings for the Japanese Empire and its occupied territories was accounted for principally

⁷ A "basket" contains 46 pounds of paddy and is slightly larger than a bushel. Measures of paddy and rice are not well standardized. The "baskets" used in purchasing rice from the growers contain nearly 50 pounds. When milled, 100 pounds of paddy yield 74 pounds of white rice.

⁸ Rangoon Gazette, June 3, 1940.

⁹ *Ibid.*, October 24, 1938. Additional trade data are given in Appendix III.

by a new law that required all rice dealers to hold fixed stocks double their usual storage.¹⁰ In 1940 Japan and the Japanese occupied ports of China (including Shanghai) took 929,554 tons of Burma rice as contrasted with only 10,773 tons in 1939. Undoubtedly the short crop in Japan and its outlying territories was in part responsible for the phenomenal increase. The demand was so sudden and unexpected that it was followed by sharp increases in rice prices in the Rangoon markets, and there was considerable popular fear that Burma would face an internal shortage. Government experts assured the Legislature that stocks were ample and that price increases were unjustified. In December 1940 prices fell temporarily upon receipt of news that the Food Controller of the Straits Settlements, in order to control stocks and prices, had decreed that Burma rice would be imported thereafter only upon license.

Although India proper grows 38,000,000 tons of rice on 80,000,000 acres, she imports about 1,000,000 tons of Burma rice each year to meet the domestic demand, and she is Burma's most valuable customer for rice. There is a wide fluctuation, due to varying rainfall in India, in that country's purchases of Burma rice. The population of India cannot be divided into rice-eating and wheat-eating blocs since there is a large bloc of the population which is forced to live on whichever staple is the cheaper at the moment. Allowing one and one-half pounds of rice per day per person, the rice crop of India will support adequately 150,000,000 people, whereas more than half of her 350,000,000 people are rice-eaters by preference. During the twenty years from 1914 to 1934 the cultivated area of India increased only two per cent to a total of 232,200,000 acres in contrast to a population increase of six per cent in ten years. Burma is the principal source from which India's deficiencies in rice are supplied.

European markets of the Burmese rice grower suffered sharp declines, even before the outbreak of the war. The Italian "battle of wheat" and German restrictions upon rice imports for breweries are instances of the constant aim of European nations to curtail their dependence upon foreign food supplies. In fact, the six leading food-importing countries on the Continent re-

¹⁰ Aspects of Japan's increased imports are discussed in Kurt Bloch, "Japan's New Rice Granary in Southeast Asia," *Far Eastern Survey*, IV (1940), No. 14, 157-64. The best study of the general Far Eastern rice problem is V. D. Wickizer and M. S. Bennett, *The Rice Economy of Monsoon Asia* (Stanford University, 1941).

duced their net imports of wheat and rice more than one-half between 1930 and 1938, and this decrease fell heavily upon Burma as the nearest source of rice from Asia.

Nor is the desire for self-sufficiency in food staples restricted to Europe. Ceylon and Malaysia continue to import rice from Burma, but in the case of Malaysia the amount has declined from 250,000 tons to less than 200,000 tons. In this instance the slump in rubber and tin prices, and the decrease in the number of Indian and Chinese laborers employed on the rubber estates and in the tin mines due to international production quotas, are partly responsible for the decreased demand for Burma rice.

South of Singapore, the Netherlands Indies reduced their takings of Burma rice from 200,000 tons annually between 1920 and 1930 to less than 100,000 tons in 1937. During the first five months of 1940, the Netherlands Indies took not a pound of Burma rice.¹¹ Here the decline may be traced, in part, to world over-production of sugar and consequent international agreements to restrict cane plantings. Exports of sugar from Java have decreased fifty per cent within the past ten years.¹² During the same period some 250,000 acres which once grew sugar were diverted to paddy. Meantime, India, of which Burma was then a part, embarked upon a policy of tariff protection for her growing sugar industry.¹³ The author has traveled on more than one ship passing north through the Bay of Bengal with a dismantled Java sugar mill on its foredeck, destined for new sugar estates in Bengal and the United Provinces. These same ships returned from Calcutta and Rangoon without their usual cargoes of rice. The net result for all of Further India and the Indies is a vast loss of tonnage and trade. The same development of local industries and decline of trade is seen in Burma. Sugar mills have been erected in Zeyawadi and Mogaung, and Burma intends to grow her own sugar requirements on land which once grew rice for exchange with Java sugar.

The prospects before the Burma rice grower are not happy; his normal exports to Europe have declined from 900,000 to 400,000 tons. Following the legalization of beer in the United States, American imports of broken rice, known to the trade as

¹¹ Rangoon *Gazette*, June 3, 1940. During 1940, for the first time in the present century the Netherlands Indies became a net exporter of rice.

¹² J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands Indies: A Study in Plural Economy* (London, 1939), 435-6.

¹³ The present import duty on sugar to Burma is Rs. 7¼ per cwt.

"brewer's rice," increased from 275 tons in 1932 to 37,000 tons in 1936. West Africa and the West Indies are taking more Burma rice than formerly; but these imports are more than canceled by the decline in the Java trade alone. Throughout Burma, Thailand, and French Indo-China, European firms have been hard hit by the decline in loadings for Europe. More rice is being milled in the Orient with cheap labor; less rice is shipped to Europe in the husk; and a larger share is handled by the producer without intervention of the European broker. There is a tendency for the Indian merchant to control a larger share of the rice which goes to India, while Chinese millers and brokers market an increasing share of the rice which goes to Singapore and Hongkong. The great European firms of Ellerman's Arakan Rice and Trading Company, Steel Brothers, the Anglo-Siam Company, the Borneo Company, and the Danish East Asiatic Company find competition more acute, and there is a tendency for the foreign merchants to pass from the scene.

UPPER BURMA

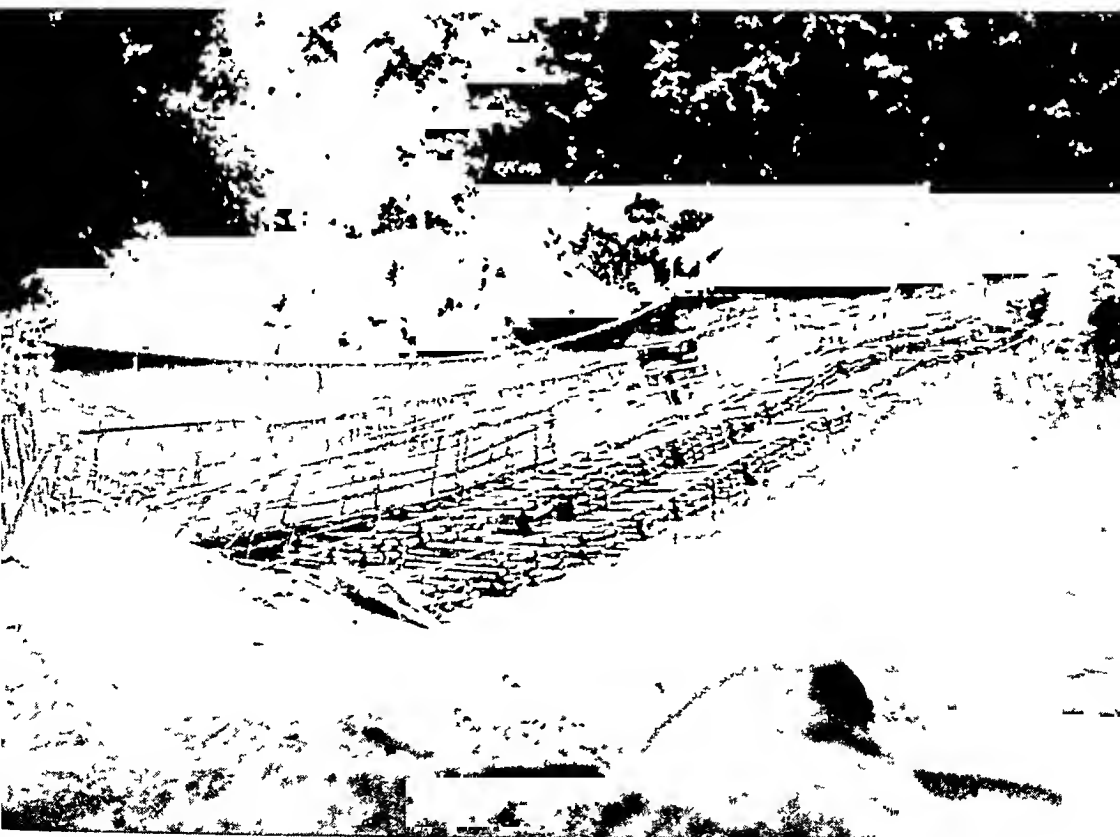
Upper Burma is noteworthy for its small independent holdings and for the variety of its crops. Basically upper Burma, although less prosperous than lower Burma in times of high rice prices, has a more constant economy due to the variety of its crops and cottage industries. Despite an erratic rainfall, very rarely does upper Burma have failure of all its crops in any one year. The toddy palm, of which there are more than two million in Pakkoku and Myingyan Districts, does not show the effects of a drought until the year following a dry season. Thus the upper Burma cultivator may have five acres of early sesamum, a similar area of late sesamum, a few acres of cotton and peanuts, and his fields bordered by *tonpin* that yield toddy sugar for a ready market. Unless rain is entirely inadequate, one of the crops is certain to have a normal yield, and even in a totally dry year his toddy trees will not fail until the following season. He is consequently better prepared to face economic stress than is the farmer of lower Burma whose prosperity depends almost entirely upon the export price of paddy.

Throughout Burma sesamum, the expressed oil of which is exported or used in Burmese cooking, normally covers a larger area than any other single crop except rice.¹⁴ There are how-

¹⁴ The area sown to sesamum in 1937 was 1,427,132 acres.



7-16-1F: African soldiers of the 7th Nigerian Regiment in Burma.





U Po Shwey and his wife, a sturdy Pwó Karen couple.



"Monks are beautiful when they are lean."

ever three other crops each of which normally is planted on about 1,000,000 acres, but which are subject to large fluctuations in area depending upon demand, rainfall, and rice prices. These crops and their areas during the season 1936-37 were¹⁵ legumes, 1,138,007 acres; peanuts, 700,000 acres; cotton, 515,642 acres. In addition millet (pyaung) and other forage crops covered 506,732 acres. During years of low paddy prices the area sown to subsidiary crops increases; likewise when the paddy market is strong there is a decrease in the acreage of miscellaneous crops. Cotton has been grown in Burma for centuries. Myingyan and Thayetmyo are the centres of cotton cultivation, smaller quantities being grown in Meiktila and Pakkoku Districts and elsewhere in the dry zone. Burma cotton is divided into *wagale* (early) and *wagyi* (late); both varieties are considered inferior in the world market. All except five per cent of the cotton yield is exported; formerly the entire surplus went to Yunnan, but now Japan is the leading purchaser. The best Burma cotton is known as *Bamaw tin* or *ywe-cheik* (Bhamo selected), a reminder of the time when much cotton was exported through Bhamo to China.¹⁶ Groundnuts were introduced into upper Burma in 1905 and the trade became almost entirely controlled by Chinese brokers.

Upper Burma and the hill tracts yield nearly all the colony's miscellaneous agricultural products. Native tea is produced principally in the Shan States of Tawng Peng and Hsipaw, where it is used largely in manufacture of Burmese *let pet* (pickled tea), a delicacy not used by Europeans. Tawng Peng has lately begun the production of tea for the European trade. One plantation producing commercial tea, providing employment for about two hundred people, is found at Thandaung in the hills above Toungoo. Most of the output is consumed in Burma. While coffee could be grown in Burma, no plantations are producing it on a large scale at present. The Shan States of Hsipaw and Lawksawk produce excellent oranges which are consumed locally and throughout Burma. In addition, the Shan States produce lac that is exported annually to the value of some Rs. 10,00,000 in addition to large quantities consumed in the lacquer industry in Burma. India is the largest purchaser of Burma lac. The tung oil tree of China is not in-

¹⁵ Data from *Season and Crop Report, 1936-1937*.

¹⁶ Furnivall, *Political Economy of Burma, cit.*, 190,

digenous to Burma. However, experimental plantings of tung trees are doing well in the Shan States of Hsipaw, Hsenwi, and Laikha, where the yield is expected to exceed the output per tree in China. Rubber plantations were once common in lower Burma from Rangoon and Shwegyin down the Tenasserim coast, but current world over-production and restriction schemes have prevented Burma from becoming a significant rubber producer. Under international agreements such as the Stephenson Plan Burma's export quota, based upon potential production, was set at an ascending annual maximum from 5,150 tons in 1934 to 9,250 tons in 1938, the lowest allotment of any state co-operating in the scheme.¹⁷ Moist jungle tracts throughout the province are considered well suited to extension of rubber planting.

Among the newer of Burma's general crops is sugar cane. In 1925 there was not a commercial sugar refinery operating in the province although sugar had been known in Burma for a thousand years. In 1926 four sections of Java cane were sent to the Agricultural Department at Pyinmana and ten years later the two districts of Yamethin and Toungoo grew nearly 25,000 acres of the improved P. O. J. cane.¹⁸ The Zeyawade sugar factory began operation in 1935. This factory together with the Mogaung factory not far from Myitkyina and Bhamo produced 14,099 tons of white sugar in 1936, an increase over 6,345 tons in the previous year.¹⁹ Neither of these sugar factories was built or promoted by Burmese capital: Mogaung is British-owned, Zeyawade is Indian-owned. One small sugar factory at Hninpale in the Thaton District has gone out of business. Burma was prepared to supply all her own essential sugar requirements.

London provides a market for Burma beans and tobacco. Mawkaing State has experimented with American tobacco seed and now puts up the product in sealed tins. Burma tobacco is considered to be of excellent quality and flavor. It is grown principally on the rich silted areas which are subject to floods of the Irrawaddy in mid-Burma. Although the Government maintains a station for sericulture experimentation in Maymyo and there has been study of Japanese methods of producing silk, Burma is not an important silk-producing state. Silk is im-

¹⁷ W. L. Holland, ed., *Commodity Control in the Pacific Area* (Stanford University, 1935), 421. About 100,000 acres are under rubber cultivation in Burma.

¹⁸ *Rangoon Gazette*, August 16, 1937.

¹⁹ *Report on Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 60.

ported both raw and finished from China and Japan. Bangkok longyis are popular, but in many cases these garments are made from fabrics imported into Thailand. There has recently developed a small export trade in Burma potatoes which are grown in the Shan States. Small quantities of wheat are grown in upper Burma but the quantity is not sufficient to supply the domestic demand; wheat does not figure prominently in the Burma diet, but large quantities are imported for use by Indian immigrants in Burma.

Despite Government encouragement Burma has not made extensive progress in fruit culture. Pineapples are grown throughout the country, but large quantities of tinned pineapples are imported from Chinese canneries in the Straits Settlements. Citrus fruits are imported from India and the Straits. In normal times there is a substantial trade in California refrigerated fruits. All of these fruits are grown in Burma but the local product is deficient in both quantity and quality.

PROBLEMS OF THE CULTIVATOR

Farming methods in Burma change slowly; but it cannot be said that the Burmese cultivator is reluctant to take up new crops. He is keenly interested in improving his land, fields, and livestock. Plowing is done ordinarily with bullocks, occasionally with water buffaloes in lower Burma. Horses, of which Burma produces a hardy breed, are nowhere used in field work. Tractors have been used experimentally on government farms and by a few of the larger landlords, but the fact that plowing for paddy is done with the land under water has militated against their use. Almost everywhere the improved metal plowshare (*theikpan teh*) developed by the Agricultural Department is being used; 5,000 of these plows are sold each year at a price of Rs. 2 (60 cents) each. Few steel harrows are seen in the fields. Line-sowing methods are slowly replacing broadcast sowing in dry-zone crops. The ancient practice of starting the paddy plants in nurseries and transplanting by hand into fields flooded with water is still followed. Formerly by custom the women transplanted the paddy, after which the harvesting was done by the men. Women at present do less field work than at the beginning of the century, but the entire village turns out during the busy planting and harvesting season. Paddy and field crops are always harvested by hand rather than with the aid of ma-

chinery. Threshing of paddy is still done by trampling with bullocks; in upper Burma the same methods are followed for appropriate crops.

Cattle disease is a constant economic loss to the Burma cultivator. Anthrax, rinderpest, foot and mouth disease, and other cattle plagues take a costly annual toll despite the services of Government veterinarians and issues of serums for the control of these diseases. To replace the annual losses in the paddy delta of lower Burma, plow bullocks are purchased from upper Burma and the Shan States.

The annual agricultural reports mention repeatedly the problem of soil depletion and the difficulty of finding a cheap and effective artificial fertilizer. However, the common belief that the rich delta lands have declined in fertility is not supported by the Settlement Reports. Little natural fertilizer is available in lower Burma where there are few cattle and no horses in the average village. Livestock of all types is more common in upper Burma. Few lower Burma villages have milk cattle. The milk supply of Burma is furnished by dairies operated by Indians. The Burmese share the usual Oriental (except for the Hindus) dislike for milk to the extent that in Burmese villages little milk is used, while large quantities of imported butter and condensed milk are consumed in the cities.

Nine Government experiment farms are operated in the interest of improving the yield and variety of Burma's crops. These stations with their areas and specialities are given herewith:²⁰

<i>Station</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Crop Experiments</i>
Hmawbi	454	Paddy and fruit
Myaungmya	92.4	Delta paddy
Mudon	87	Paddy
Akyab	50	Paddy and coconuts
Pyinmana and Tatkon	500	Paddy and miscellaneous
Agricultural College, Mandalay	745	Paddy, poultry, dairying
Allanmyo (4 farms)	500	Cotton, dry crops, fruit
Kanbalu	62	Garden and field crops
Mahlaing	350	Cotton, other dry-zone crops

In several of the above stations studies are conducted in corn, groundnuts, linseed, sunflowers, soy and other beans, and garden and forage crops. Generally there were cordial relations between the Burmese cultivator and the officials in the Agricultural Services, and there is a noticeable absence of the de-

²⁰ *Report of the Agricultural Stations* (Rangoon, annually).

tachment from the masses which is traditionally associated with the Civil, Judicial, and Police Services. The office of the Rice Research Officer is at the Hmawbi Station, and half the expenses of the paddy experimentations being conducted there are met by the Empire Marketing Board, London, in the hope of developing new varieties of paddy suitable for the European trade. This office is credited with the introduction of the *cmatas* and other new strains of rice. Although, from the standpoint of Europeans, Burma rice may be inferior to Italian, "Carolina" and certain other varieties, Indians, Singhalese, Malays, and customers in the Middle and Far East are reported as well satisfied with Burma rice. Inasmuch as Europe has taken but a small portion of Burma's rice exports during the present century, experts of the Agricultural Department do not favor too great an expansion of the *cmatas*, which suit Europeans best.

Under the Director of Agriculture there is a marketing officer, agricultural chemist, mycologist, economic botanist, rice research officer, and eight deputy directors with circle headquarters in Rangoon, Bassein, Akyab, Moulmein, Pyinmana, Magwe, Meiktila, and Mandalay. Each deputy director is in charge of one of the experiment farms mentioned above.

An erratic rainfall is the greatest hazard to farm crops in upper Burma. Throughout that area there are numerous small irrigation systems utilizing artificial lakes or simple dams across flowing streams. Under the Burmese kings some extensive irrigation works had been developed. In the Kyaukse area the first canals and dams are traditionally credited to Anawrahta (1044-87). Whoever secured control of the Kyaukse rice lands was master of upper Burma. During the period of British rule the area under irrigation has been extended by the completion of canals in the Shwebo, Minbu, and Yamethin Districts, until irrigated lands totaled 1,513,954 acres in 1939. The policy has been to construct numerous small irrigation projects. Neither the Irrawaddy nor the Chindwin has been obstructed by the construction of dams since they are of great value as avenues of commerce. Along the lower Irrawaddy 751,736 acres were protected by embankments from flooding during high water.

Poverty, isolation, disease, debt, lack of education, and a sense of inferiority to residents of the towns, conspire to make the life of the Burmese cultivator and his family anything but idyllic. Despite these handicaps the Burman has a buoyant

spirit; it is only since the collapse of paddy prices after 1930 that he has begun to adopt a realistic attitude toward his problems. Of these the greatest in the life of the peasant is connected with land ownership and indebtedness.

RURAL INDEBTEDNESS

One of the great problems facing lower Burma is that fifty per cent of the occupied land is in the hands of non-agriculturalists.²¹ In upper Burma, where eighty-five per cent of the land is owned by agriculturalists, the situation is not so serious. Most of the land in the hands of non-agriculturalists is owned by non-residents. By non-resident is meant a person who resides outside the district in which the land is situated; it does not necessarily denote a person who is a foreigner to Burma or who resides outside Burma. However, most of the land controlled by non-resident non-agriculturalists is the property of Indian landowners, principally Chettyars from South India.²² In 1936 the area let to tenants reached the huge figure of 9,018,501 acres, most of it on short-term tenancies at high fixed rents.²³ There are a few Burmese and Chinese landholders who control large acreages which they do not themselves operate, but 38.76 per cent of all agricultural lands in lower Burma are held by Indian landowners. It should be added that Europeans rarely own rural property in Burma.

Indian ownership and tenancy of agricultural land in Burma present no new problem. The *Season and Crop Report* of 1910 noted an increase in the number of Indian tenants. By 1914 it was reported that "in and near Rangoon the steady pressure of the Indian immigrant is slowly but surely ousting the Burman."²⁴ It was noted at that time that even Burmese landlords preferred Indian tenants because "... they pay larger rents and do not give the landlord such an anxious time when the grain is on the threshing flood."²⁵ Once the Burmese owner had employed Indian labor to work his fields or had let them out on cash rent to Indian tenants, it was an easy step for him to seek an advance from the local Chettyar moneylender. It has been

²¹ *Report on the Administration of Burma 1935-36*, 23.

²² Chettyars are a hereditary banking caste of Hindus from the Madras Presidency.

²³ For authoritative comments on tenancy in Burma, see Furnivall, *Political Economy of Burma*, *op. cit.*, 77-83, 100-7.

²⁴ *Season and Crop Report*, 1914, 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

trol of more than half of lower Burma. Inasmuch as the Chettyars had borrowed much of their capital from European banks, the liquidation affected all classes in Burma, and the Chettyars emerged from the depression with their assets transformed from cash to landholdings. Since the separation of Burma from India, the Chettyars have been reluctant to make any advances secured by real estate in Burma. All aliens have shown eagerness to dispose of their Burma lands, particularly in view of anti-Indian and anti-Chinese demonstrations and the nationalist demand for legislation aimed at returning the rice fields to the sons of the soil.

It must not be supposed that the activities of foreign financiers have been wholly detrimental to Burma. Without foreign aid, principally Indian, the development of Burma would have been a slow process. It has long been recognized that a supply of capital at low interest rates at planting and harvesting seasons is the first need of the Burma cultivator.²⁸ It has been estimated reliably that the outstanding loans of Chettyars alone amount to Rs. 750 million (U.S. \$250 million) each year, of which amount about Rs. 500 million is advanced to finance agriculture. When this estimate was made by the Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee in 1930, loans were at their highest point in Burma's history. Land foreclosures since 1930 have reduced Chettyar loans on Burma land to about Rs. 100 million.²⁹ During the present decade the Burman's great problem has been to get his land from the Chettyar, and the Chettyar's problem has been to get his money from the Burman.

The dire straits of the peasant cultivator in Burma has been the subject of legislation as far back as the passage of the Land Improvement Loans Act of 1883 and the Agricultural Loans Act of 1884. While these acts made possible loans to cultivators at low interest rates, they are hedged about with so many restrictions that less than Rs. 2,000,000 are advanced annually as opposed to Rs. 500,000,000 by Chettyars at much higher rates. In August 1935 the Burma Legislative Council passed a Debt Conciliation Act which established boards of officials and non-officials for the voluntary scaling down of debts and accumulated interest (in some cases amounting to considerably more than the original loan) in accordance with the decreased value

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 343.

²⁹ Furnivall, *Political Economy of Burma*, op. cit., 145.

of paddy and agricultural land and the ability of the debtor to pay. Since the Act received the Viceroy's assent and came into force from October 28, 1936, it has afforded some relief to the cultivator, but its usefulness has been limited by the opposition shown to the measure by the native bankers who since its passage have been more reluctant to make loans at all on Burma real estate.

In 1937 the Legislature passed a Burma Tenancy Act having as its object the protection of tenants. The Nattukkottai Che-tyars' Association of Burma immediately announced its opinion that the Bill was an unwarranted interference with the interests of landlords.³⁰ But rising agrarian unrest demanded passage of the Act to prevent further land alienation. The present position is that agrarian reform in Burma will be a slow process due to such questions as, who is a landlord? who is a resident? who is an alien? and similar questions that provide endless possibilities for debate and litigation. Two further problems must be solved before the present land laws can be fruitful of the greatest good: the cultivator must be prevented from again sinking into a morass of debt, and the Government of Burma must find some source of credit able to finance the return of 10,000,000 acres of rich land to the original owners. Burma is undoubtedly on the verge of important changes in her agrarian system, but it is most unlikely that the *sinjetha* policy of Dr. Ba Maw offers the correct solution.³¹

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND LAND BANKS

During the first quarter of the present century thousands of co-operative societies were established under Government auspices throughout Burma. No Government funds were used to launch the societies, but they were registered and made subject to annual inspection by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and became eligible for government loans.³² Despite an auspicious beginning, the chronic improvidence of the Burmans caused the societies to fall into liquidation, and in 1929 the Burma Provincial Co-operative Bank in Mandalay became unsound; the Government of Burma eventually underwrote its loss of Rs. 35 lakhs. The branch banks at

³⁰ Rangoon Gazette, July 5, 1937.

³¹ *Infra*, p. 241 ff.

³² See *Annual Report on the Working of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act in Burma* (Rangoon, annually).

Prome and Pegu survived and were the mainstay of the three hundred societies that continued to work. Curiously, the co-operative credit movement has been least successful where it is most needed—in lower Burma. Upper Burma with a settled population and diversified income has numerous societies that have worked successfully. The co-operative movement reached its lowest ebb in 1933-34. Since that time reconstruction work has revived numerous societies, and since December 1935 the Government has sanctioned return of foreclosed land to the original owners by paying the market value of the land by instalments over a period of fifteen years.³³ The number of co-operative societies increased to 600 in 1938, 930 in 1939, and 1,500 in 1940. Many of these new societies are small and have only limited resources. The recent increase is attributable to the constant emphasis by Burmese nationalist leaders upon rural co-operation and land problems. Should this activity result in a genuine revival of strong, self-sustaining, co-operative societies, interested in the problems of the cultivator rather than merely in politics and Government loans, these societies should go a long way toward extricating the Burman from the slough of debt. The Pyinmana Agricultural School, under direction of Rev. B. C. Case, sponsors the most successful private co-operative in Burma. The sale of livestock, field crops, poultry and eggs, and the purchase of seed and, in some cases, land and buildings, are conducted by these societies for its members.

The only private banking firm in Burma that specializes in rural loans is Dawson's Bank, Ltd. Established in 1914, the bank operated throughout the lower Irrawaddy delta. It was forced to reorganize after the depression of 1930. The larger banking firms in Rangoon generally decline to loan on farm lands although they hold mortgages on urban real estate. In general, the European banks have confined their activities to commercial banking and rice exports. The abnormally low prices for all property from 1930 to 1938 caused a general reluctance on the part of all Burma banks to advance any funds on the security of lands.

FORESTS

A century ago much of lower Burma was covered with forests, and these were once considered the most valuable asset

³³ *Ibid.* (1936).

of the colony. After careful surveys it is now known that the forests of Burma are of uneven quality and are less valuable and extensive than was once supposed. Teak has been always the most valuable forest export, while bamboo is probably the most versatile forest product from the viewpoint of the Burman. Authorities believe that upper Burma is the original home of the lemon tree and that the country gave the lemon (both the fruit and the name) to the world.³⁴

Government control has long been exercised over the teak of Burma, and within the present century the remaining forests have been placed in Government reserves which now total more than 20,000,000 acres. The forest administration may work these forests on a commercial basis, or it may auction off the right to cut mature trees in restricted areas. The general practice is to encourage private working of the Burma forests. In 1936 there were 6,234 domesticated elephants used in forest operations;³⁵ of these 327 were Government owned. About 500,000 tons of teak are cut annually, eighty per cent of which is exported to India.³⁶ At an average price of Rs. 135 per ton, teak provides about seventy per cent of the annual forest revenues. Royalties from forests were an important part of the revenues of Burma. In 1939-40 teak alone yielded a net revenue of Rs. 67,26,189. No private timber firm has yet succeeded in working other Burma timber on a large scale at a profit. Most Burma timber is so heavy that to float it downstream the logs must be lashed to bamboo. Pyinkado, the second most valuable tree, is used principally for railway sleepers because of its resistance to the attacks of white ants.

Burma is well equipped to supply all of her timber requirements except limited imports of matchwood and light timber for packing cases. Japan has been for years the principal source of timber imported into Burma. There are some pine forests in the Northern Shan States, the finest growths being in Mong Kung State, but the supply is insufficient to meet the demand by Burma match factories. Royalty is charged on firewood and charcoal entering the larger towns as well as upon timber cut

³⁴ The evidence is summarized in Harold W. Glidden, "The Lemon in Asia and Europe," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 57 (December 1937), 381-96.

³⁵ *Report on Forest Administration in Burma* (Rangoon, annually); see report for 1936, 63.

³⁶ Alexander Rodgers, *Handbook of Forest Products of Burma* (Rangoon, 1936), 145.

to supply engines, factories, salt works, potteries and for other commercial uses. The rate is two annas per ninety pounds of charcoal and ten annas per one hundred cubic feet of firewood. From their varied sources the forests yielded approximately twenty per cent of the total provincial revenues of the Government of Burma before separation.³⁷ Eighty per cent of the total revenue from teak is paid by five British firms. For the year ending March 31, 1937, the forest earnings showed a good margin of profit for the Provincial Government. However a statement of the average revenues for the period 1925-29 indicates that they have not recovered to their former high level:³⁸

FOREST REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES

(In Rupees)

Year	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus
1925-29 average	1,96,69,448	84,67,117	1,12,02,331
1936-37	1,42,64,626	55,40,216	87,24,410

Game preservation is one of the functions of the forest administration in Burma. Only during the past decade have game preserves been considered necessary. However, with the increase in the number of licensed firearms, improved transportation into formerly remote districts, and reduction in the amount of unoccupied land, game (particularly rhinoceros and varieties of deer) was threatened with extinction. Burma provides excellent hunting for jungle fowl, snipe, tiger, elephant, deer, and other game. Licenses are required and hunting seasons are regulated to insure a supply of game. Because of their damage to crops, fields, fences, and huts, more than one hundred elephants are shot annually by Government game wardens. The Burmese are keen sportsmen, and Burma contains some of the finest shooting ground in all Asia.

Bird life in Burma is particularly varied and abundant due to extremes in rainfall, altitude, and to the fact that the country extends from tropic to temperate climatic zones. In addition to numerous tropical varieties, many species common to the temperate zones may be seen in upper Burma and the Shan States during the cool weather. A recent volume on the subject illustrated 290 species in colors.³⁹

³⁷ F. Burton Leach, *The Future of Burma* (Rangoon, 1936), 67.

³⁸ *Report on Forest Administration in Burma, 1936-37*, 48.

³⁹ B. E. Smythies, *Birds of Burma* (Rangoon, 1940).

CHAPTER VIII

COMMERCE, INDUSTRY, AND LABOR

Since Burma is an agricultural country, it is only natural that her principal exports are products of agriculture and the extractive industries, whereas her principal imports are manufactured goods. The total trade increased from Rs. 300,000,000 to Rs. 1,100,000,000 during the three decades 1900-30, an indication of Burma's great prosperity during the first years of the current century.¹ During her long connection with India, the fiscal policies of Burma were determined by the interests of her larger neighbor. Thus in prosperous years the duty on imports supplied nearly half the total revenue of the Government of Burma. For decades the steel and cotton mills of India have been protected by import duties on foreign competitive goods; however, the interests of the Burma cultivator would best be served by the removal of import duties on finished goods. Burmese political leaders have hitherto interested themselves in the problems of rural Burma rather than in questions of foreign trade. Upon the expiration in April 1940 of the Indo-Burma trade agreement consequent upon separation, Burmese public opinion demanded a revision of the customs policy in the interests of the producer of raw materials.

OVERSEAS COMMERCE

Burma's seaborne trade for the period April to June 1937, the last quarter of normal trade before the import of goods was disrupted by the Far Eastern crisis of July 1937, was significant also since it covered the first three months after the separation of Burma from India.² The Sino-Japanese conflict almost immediately caused a decline of forty per cent in imports from Japan. A statistical summary of this trade follows.³

¹ *Report of the Burma Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee 1929-30, op., cit.*, I, 31.

² More comprehensive information on the commodity and geographical distribution of Burma's trade is given in App. III, A.

³ *Rangoon Gazette*, August 9, 1937. Figures are in lakhs of rupees. The normal exchange value of the rupee is 1s. 6d., or 36.5 American cents. The range was 24-37 cents during the decade 1930-40. As of October 1940 the rupee was valued at 29.85 cents. A lakh is 100,000; a crore is 10,000,000, written 1,00,00,000.

OVERSEAS TRADE FOR QUARTER ENDING

	June 1936	June 1937	Change
Total exports	5.09.3	4,31.6	-77.7
Total imports	1,71.7	1,93.5	+21.8
Total foreign trade	6.81.0	6,25.1	-55.9
Excess of exports	3,37.6	2,38.1	

Burma's foreign trade fluctuates widely, being more responsive to the price obtained for rice than to any other one factor.⁴ For example, the foreign trade for three typical years was as follows:

1929-30—exports and imports	Rs. 61 crores
1933-34— " " "	Rs. 26 "
1936-37— " " "	Rs. 32 "

The 1929-30 figure is the largest in Burma's history, the 1933-34 the lowest within the past two decades.⁵ *The Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, listed a total of Rs. 81.11 crores during the year, but this figure included imports of treasure and Government stores.⁶ Normally, Burma has a favorable trade balance of approximately Rs. 10 crores each year, a large part of which is canceled by overseas remittances including pensions and exported profits of European, Indian, and Chinese firms.

Almost all trade in products destined for export from Burma is in the hands of non-Burmans. This is true in the case of rice, petroleum products, timber, and minerals. There are a few local saw mills under Chinese and Burmese management, but these cater to the domestic demand.

While there is some variation in the amounts and nature of the exports and imports from month to month the relative positions of the principal articles of trade seldom vary greatly. An official report on foreign trade appears each month in the Rangoon press.⁷

Burma's exports appear to have done well under the stress of war since the exports for March 1940 were only 1.5 per cent less than for the corresponding period of 1939. Imports, however, showed a gain of 19.1 per cent over those of March 1939.

⁴ For data of Burma trade see *Annual Report on the Maritime Trade of Burma and Annual Report on the Trade and Customs Administration of Burma* (Rangoon annually).

⁵ For expert opinion on Burma trade see F. B. Leach, "Prospects of Trade in Burma," *Asiatic Review*, XXXV (April 1939), 370-8.

⁶ Page 85.

⁷ *Burma Trade Journal*, IV, Pt. IV (April 1940).

TRADE FOR MARCH 1940

(In 1,000 rupees)

<i>Exports</i>		<i>Imports</i>	
Rice and rice products.....	3,23,81	Textiles	41,56
Mineral oils and wax.....	1,17,42	Machinery	29,18
Metals and ores.....	56,29	Food products	22,98
Timber	24,46	Jute bags	18,44
Beans, etc.	15,94	Metals	15,14
Rubber	11,00	Mineral oils	7,81
Cotton	5,80	Coal and coke	6,09
Hides and skins.....	2,86	Tobacco	6,07
Spices	1,22	Chemicals	4,05
Matches	1,11	Paper	4,92
Cutch	77	Liquors	1,24

Trade relations with India are of vital importance to Burma. In normal years India took approximately sixty per cent of Burma's exports, including all of her surplus petrol, kerosene, three-fourths of her timber exports, nearly half of her rice and much of her silver. Her only important exports that do not go to India in quantity are lead, tin, rubber and tungsten. Although Indo-Burma trade amounts to sixty per cent of Burma's total trade, it accounts for only seven per cent of India's trade. This means that India is in a strong position when negotiating trade agreements with Burma. Since separation, exports to and imports from countries other than India have increased, as have imports from India, while Burma's exports to India have decreased.⁸ India would have little difficulty in satisfying her import requirements other than rice outside Burma, whereas Burma would have the greatest difficulty in disposing of her surplus rice which India now consumes.

Because of geographical propinquity and the remarkable capacity of each to supply what the other lacks (rice, timber, and petroleum products to India; coal textiles, iron and steel to Burma), the two countries are benefited by fostering mutual trade. Due to the availability of rice from Thailand and Indo-China, at prices slightly below the Rangoon market and at freight rates not excessively beyond those from Rangoon to Madras; India remains at a great advantage in dealing with Burma; and no amount of wishful thinking by Burmans and others will change the position as long as trade in Southeast Asia is by private competition rather than by government regula-

⁸ Rangoon *Gazette*, June 1, 1940. The decline in the value of exports to India is due in part to the fact that excise tax was not collected in Burma on petroleum products shipped to India after separation,

tion. Within the predictable future it is probable that both countries will continue to pay freight only across the Bay of Bengal rather than attempt to satisfy their respective requirements from a greater distance.

OVERLAND TRADE

Overland trade between India and Burma through Manipur and Assam may be dismissed as of no consequence since it consists solely of village products. Nor do any imported goods go to Tibet from Burma over the high passes beyond the Irrawaddy. In the Myitkyina District trade with China had almost ceased by 1936, most of the small overland trade to Yunnan having been diverted to the Bhamo route. It was reported that there was a further drop in the Bhamo trade during the decade ending in 1940. Before the opening of the Burma-Yunnan road the Chinese city of Tengyueh was supplied with foreign goods by way of the Haiphong railway.⁹ Trans-Burma trade with China was further handicapped by the adverse exchange rate (Rs. 100 equaling Ch.\$215) and by the regulation of the Nanking Government prohibiting export of silver coin or bullion from China. Without the intervention of the Sino-Japanese conflict, Burma's overland trade to China gave no promise of increasing. The Siamese trade likewise was of little consequence. Some textiles, petrol, and goods for the village trade reach the Shan States nearest Thailand but the amount of this trans-frontier trade is negligible.

INTERNAL TRADE

Most of the railway towns and larger interior villages of Burma have both Indian and Chinese shops which sell such miscellaneous articles as kerosene, soap, thread, cotton goods, tinned fish and milk, hardware, and notions. In the sale of native products the Burmese, or rather their wives, hold their own. Many bazaar stalls are operated by Burmese women who manage much of the retail trade. Since the time of Marco Polo, who first noted the custom, all towns in upper Burma and the Shan States have held bazaars every five days, the day varying in adjoining towns. Itinerant merchants, usually Indians, move from one bazaar to another with their stocks of glassware, crockery, cloth goods, toys and notions. The Burmese stalls are

⁹ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 17, 57.

operated usually by women of the vicinity who sell the products of farm and garden or their handiwork such as cheroots or hand loom textiles. Burmese blacksmiths, wood workers, and other craftsmen sell their products to the consumer without aid of a foreign middleman.

Indian or Chinese merchants who operate shops in outlying cities and villages may be independent owners, or they may be merely agents for Rangoon firms owned by their compatriots. In any case, goods of foreign origin sold in the villages of Burma come from Rangoon to which they have been imported by European, Chinese, or Indian companies. There is not in Rangoon a single banking, insurance, shipping, manufacturing or import firm of any size that is owned or managed by Burmese. Two large British firms, Rowe and Company, and Watson and Son, with branches in the larger cities of Burma, supply the needs of those who use foreign goods. Whiteaway, Laidlaw and Company, a British merchandising firm operating throughout the Empire, closed its Rangoon branch in 1938.

COMMUNICATIONS

Burma is well provided with means for internal communications. The state-owned Burma Railways connect the important cities of Burma with 2,060 miles of meter-gauge line.¹⁰ Railway construction in Burma began with the opening of the Rangoon-Prome line in 1877, and twelve years later the Rangoon-Mandalay line was opened.¹¹ Railway construction is summarized below:

<i>Period</i>	<i>Miles Constructed</i>
1869—1886.....	333
1887—1896.....	539
1896—1914.....	710
1914—1920.....	24
1920—1940.....	454

The line was extended to Myitkyina, 722 miles north of Rangoon, in 1899. The Irrawaddy has been bridged only at Sagaing, opposite Mandalay, with a structure which carries rail and road traffic on two decks. Its completion in 1934 made possible a through run from Rangoon to Myitkyina. First, second, and

¹⁰ *Census Report*, 1931, 15. The 50 miles of the Burma Corporation railway from Namyao to Namtu and Bawdwin is narrow gauge.

¹¹ Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*, 338,

third-class compartments are provided on all passenger trains; the upper-class coaches are equipped with electric fans and comfortable berths, and all coaches have electric lights. The passenger ordinarily furnishes his own bedding and linen although these may be rented by first- and second-class passengers from the railway. There are no dining or restaurant cars on the trains, and travelers eat at railway refreshment rooms or provide their own food. Since the inauguration of Burma's new Government on April 1, 1937, there has been a noticeable improvement in the service and accommodations provided for third-class passengers. Locomotives in Burma are of British or continental manufacture and they are fired with coal imported from India. Passenger coaches are constructed of wood on imported undercarriages. A maximum speed of 45 miles per hour is maintained on the main line where 75-pound rails and 92-ton engines are used. The most noteworthy bridge is the Gokeik Viaduct on the Lashio line. This structure, 2,260 feet in length, has a maximum height of 320 feet above a natural bridge on which it crosses a stream 870 feet below rail level. A police guard has been stationed at the bridge since this line has been used to transport Chinese war supplies to the Lashio railhead of the Yunnan-Burma road. Railway travel in Burma is safe and comfortable; the Rangoon-Mandalay run is made in thirteen hours, and there is through traffic to the end of the line at Lashio in twenty-eight hours. Railway signs are posted in English, Burmese, several Indian languages, and also in Shan on the Lashio and Kalaw lines. The only sections of Burma not provided with rail communication are the Arakan coast, the Shan States beyond Taunggyi and Lashio, the hill areas north of Myitkina, and Tenasserim south of Yc.

Earnings of the Burma Railways have declined steadily since 1929. In 1931 the decline in passenger traffic due to road competition was estimated at Rs. 10 lakhs.¹² A statistical summary of railway earnings is given in Appendix III, H.

In 1896 the state-owned railways were leased to a private company for operation. The British company's working agreement was terminated in 1929, the year after the peak of prosperity for the Burma Railways. Since 1929-30 the railway has not earned its standing interest charge of four per cent. Gross earnings declined thirty-one per cent from Rs. 51,186,272 in

¹² Rangoon Gazette, September 28, 1932.

1927-28 to Rs. 35,573,845 in 1932-33; since then there has been a slight recovery of five per cent to Rs. 37,482,398 in 1938-39, and a further increase in 1940, but the figure is still short of the earnings necessary to yield four per cent interest on the invested capital. Earnings from freight traffic vary in response to rice prices and foreign trade. In an effort to stimulate business and meet competition from trucks, the railways have instituted door-to-door delivery service on freight and parcels, and have speeded up freight trains between all principal cities. During the negotiations for a financial separation of Burma from India, the Burma Railways represented the greatest single item in Burma's debt to her former partner.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Mileage</i>	<i>Capital Charge</i>	<i>Gross Return Millions of Rs.</i>	<i>Net Return on Capital (Per Cent)</i>
1896.....	872	77	8	3.87
1914.....	1552	210	25	5.45
1920.....	1606	216	33	6.63
1929.....	1931	328	50	6.01
1936.....	2060	349	37	2.51
1937.....	2060	347	38	3.35
1938.....	2060	346	37	3.18
1939.....	2059	345	37	3.15

Although the Burma Railways touch the Irrawaddy at several points with branch lines, the trunk line to Mandalay passes up the Sittang Valley, leaving the great river the most important artery for freight through the delta and up its rich valley to Bhamo. The important oil fields of Yenangyaung and Chauk depend upon the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company for transport of heavy goods. This firm operates a comfortable and efficient fleet of six hundred vessels of all descriptions from express steamers and cargo steamers to ferries and creek launches and tugs. At its own expense the company's pilot launches buoy 1,000 miles of the Irrawaddy from Bhamo to Rangoon and Bassein. The Irrawaddy Flotilla Company was formed in 1865 to carry out Government contracts for conveyance of troops, Government stores, and mail, and in 1868 widened its contract to include service to Bhamo.¹³ During the World War the British Government requisitioned eighty-nine of the river steamers and took them to Mesopotamia by the long ocean route around Ceylon, Although they are not suited to ocean service, only five

¹³ O. J. Munro, *The Roaring Forties and After* (London, 1929), 103-244, is a delightful account of experiences in Burma by an early captain of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company,

of the steamers failed to reach Basra. The equipment and service have been improved constantly until today the express steamers, 326 feet long and 76 feet wide across the paddle boxes and capable of towing a cargo flat 34 feet wide on each side, are the largest and most powerful vessels of their type in the world. Specially designed stern-wheel steamers leave the Irrawaddy at Pakokku and ascend the Chindwin four hundred miles to Homalin. In the Irrawaddy delta cargo vessels and twin-screw, double-deck launches operate between all principal points. The company still carries considerable crude oil from the Yenangyaung fields to Rangoon in vessels which, including barges on either side, carry some 2,000 tons of oil each trip.

The larger vessels of the Irrawaddy Company are assembled in Rangoon after having been constructed and engined in Scotland. Many of the smaller steamers and launches are built entirely in the company's modern dockyards in Dalla, across the river from Rangoon. This dockyard completed in 1939 the twin-screw, diesel-powered *Thumingala* for the Prome-Mandalay express service. Both the Dalla and Moulmein dockyards are equipped for repairing deep-sea ships, the only commercial facilities of this type in Burma. On the express steamers in the Mandalay and Bhamo services, deck and engineer officers are Europeans, but native officers and crews operate the smaller vessels including those in the overnight express runs to Bassein, Henzada, Bogale, Laboota and other delta stations. During 1937 the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company carried 6,000,000 passengers without a fatal accident. Its fares are approximately the same as those charged by the railway for similar distances, the first-class fare to Mandalay being Rs. 45 by either route and the third-class fare Rs. 7/1 by train and Rs. 9/0 by steamer. The 1,000-mile journey upstream to Bhamo is made in ten days; these steamers travel only during daylight. The Irrawaddy Flotilla Company acts as the Rangoon agent for British Overseas Airways and the Rangoon-Chungking-Hongkong line of the China National Aviation Company. In 1934 it began its own service up the Irrawaddy by seaplane, but this service was suspended as unremunerative shortly before the outbreak of war in 1939.

Steamers cannot ascend the Salween beyond Shwagoon, sixty miles above Moulmein. The mighty Salween, rising in Tibet and flowing across eastern Burma, is of little value except as a

means of floating timber downstream; it rises more than fifty feet during the rains, and is obstructed by numerous rapids.

As the Burmese are not a seagoing people, shipping along the Burma coast from Chittagong to Victoria Point is carried in steam vessels that are British or Indian owned. However, a few diesel-powered coastal vessels are operated by Burmese, principally in the area between Moulmein and Mergui. There is a small trade between Burma and its off-shore islands such as the Andamans, the Nicobars, and the Coco Islands. This commerce is in coconuts, turtle eggs, rice and other native products which count for little in the country's maritime trade. Chinese control the collection of edible birds' nests and *beche de mer* in the Mergui Archipelago. The Burma coast is well provided with aids to navigation, the most famous being the lights on Diamond Island and Algauda Reef. The Rangoon Pilot Service is efficiently managed and well paid under British organization.

Canal construction in Burma is a great aid to internal communication by water. The best-known waterway is the Twante Canal, which was widened and deepened in 1935 to permit passage of the largest Irrawaddy Flotilla steamers to Mandalay. Formerly these were required to go out the Rangoon River and through Bassein Creek to one of the larger mouths of the Irrawaddy. Another canal of importance connects Pegu, which was a seaport when the Portuguese first reached Burma, with the Sittang River. During 1939 these two canals carried 2,303,485 tons of cargo valued at Rs. 140,063,433, passengers numbering 779,903, and yielded Rs. 747,780 in fees to pay for their construction and maintenance. Numerous other cuts connect the many tidal waterways of the Irrawaddy system and provide transportation through all parts of a great rice-producing area of Burma. More than one-half of the rice received by the big millers in Rangoon arrives by boat, much of it in Chinese-built craft called "tonkings."¹⁴

Burma has telegraphic communication overland to India, China, and Thailand, while there is cable connection with India and the Straits Settlements. Both telegraphic and telephonic services are state owned. The charge for sending a telegram is uniform for all parts of the country regardless of dis-

¹⁴ Sketches and data on these craft may be found in Lieut. D. W. Waters, R. N., "Chinese Junks: An Exception: the Tong Kung," *The Mariners Mirror*, XXVI (1940), 77-95.

tance; the fee is about twenty-five cents for a message of sixteen words. The state-owned telephones are expensive to install but the charge for long distance messages is extremely moderate. A system of rural telephones was authorized in 1937 and several of the district headquarters are now connected with Rangoon.¹⁵

Postal services are widely used and the fee for domestic and foreign letters is approximately the same as in other countries. The usual facilities for postal insurance and registration, postal savings and parcel post (with uniform rates regardless of distance), are well organized and reach all parts of Burma. In remote villages the mail may be delivered weekly or monthly depending upon distance, while the extension of the above services is dependent upon local demand. Despite the fact that in delivering money orders currency is carried by the postman to the payee, thefts are rare, and the postal services are remarkably efficient. In the case of registered insured post actual currency notes are sent by the remitter to the payee. Mail and money orders may be addressed in English, Burmese, Chinese, or any one of a dozen Indian languages. Motor mail transport has been extended to Keng Tung and Loimwe, the easternmost post offices in Burma. "There is hardly a moderate road in Burma without a motormail service."¹⁶

Road construction in Burma has lagged somewhat due largely to the fact that the river and the railways provide ready transportation in the direction of the greatest flow of traffic. Since the Government owns the railways, there was naturally some reluctance to provide competition for its own system. However, there are two trunk highways from Rangoon to Mandalay, one paralleling the railway the entire distance and the other paralleling the Irrawaddy by way of the oil fields. These all-weather highways are oiled about half the distance between the two cities. Travel by motor is safe and practical on the trunk roads during the entire year and on subsidiary roads during the dry season. The Shan States have excellent dry-weather roads which are being constantly improved by macadamizing. The Mawchi mines in Karenni, near the Siamese frontier, are connected with

¹⁵ *Rangoon Gazette*, August 9, 1937. The Rangoon Telephone Company, a public concern, operates the public system under a concession that expired in 1941. It is expected that the Government will operate the system after that. Moulmein has a separate service for official use.

¹⁶ Report of Director General of Posts and Telegraphs in *Rangoon Gazette*, April 9, 1937.

the Burma Railways at Toungoo by a surfaced highway. There is no highway to India, but beyond Keng Tung there is connection with the Siamese highways, and again to Myawaddy on the Siamese frontier opposite Moulmein. The most rapid local service from Rangoon to Bangkok is by train to Moulmein, thence by car to Myawaddy and Mehsord (five miles within Thailand), from which point a Thailand Government air line, inaugurated in 1939, takes the traveler to Pitsanuloke on the Chiangmai-Bangkok line of the Royal Thailand State Railways.¹⁷ There is as yet no direct road from Rangoon to Bangkok, but the trip can be made in dry weather by way of Keng Tung and Chiengrai. There are 4,500 miles of road motorable throughout the year, and an additional 3,000 miles of road passable, subject to weather.¹⁸ About Rs. 40 lakhs are spent annually on road construction and maintenance. As both highways and railways in Burma suffer from flooding during the monsoons, traffic is subject to frequent interruption from June to September.

Government rest houses are available along all travel routes. Although these are provided primarily for officials on tour, they are open to the casual non-official at a nominal fee. The bungalows have the necessary furniture, but the traveler must provide his own bedding and food. The country is well policed; and despite an alarming crime rate among certain sections of the population, the careful traveler need have no anxiety. The most frequent hazard to highway travel is the presence of livestock, bullock carts, and pedestrians on the roads.

Rangoon, Mandalay, Bassein, Moulmein, Maymyo, and other cities are well provided with paved streets and electric lights. However, the expense of electric power, together with the abundance of labor and fuel oil, has prevented its wide use for domestic and industrial purposes. A system of electric trolley-buses was introduced into Rangoon in August 1936. Taxis are available in the larger cities, and rickshaws and carriages are common throughout the Province. Bullock carts in upper Burma and boats in the delta are the most common conveyances for rural Burmans.

¹⁷ The land portion of this route was used by Japanese forces in their attack upon Moulmein, Martaban and Paan in January, 1942, while their planes were almost certainly based upon Raheng, Chiangmai, and Pitsanuloke as well as Bangkok.

¹⁸ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 88.

INDUSTRY AND LABOR

Burma has made little progress in industrialization. Of the 1,007 factories registered under the Factory Act, one-seventh are European owned; these employ one-half the industrial workers of Burma. The average number of employees per factory is less than one hundred. Rice mills which prepare the country's largest crop for export employ the greatest number of laborers. Many of these establishments are small and provide principally seasonal and unskilled employment. All the smaller mills are owned by Indians, Chinese, or Burmans, and the common labor is supplied by Indians or Burmans. There are no coal mines operating commercially in the country, and the iron foundries are those connected with the Burma Railways, Government and private dock yards, and similar plants which operate entirely to supply local needs.

Rangoon and environs, Yenangyaung and Chauk in the Irrawaddy oil fields, the Namtu-Bawdwin silver-lead mines in the Northern Shan States, the tin mines of Tavoy and the Mawchi mines in Karenni are the only concentrations of industrial labor in the country. There are also cotton, cement, oil, and other plants in Myingyan, Monyaw, Thayetmyo, Magwe, and elsewhere in the dry zone, but none of the individual establishments employs as many as 1,000 workers in one location. The tin mines and rubber plantations of the Tenneserim District are small, scattered enterprises; they are, however, the most advanced in the country with respect to providing housing for employees.¹⁹ While rice mills and saw mills constitute the largest number of industrial enterprises in Burma, the Burmah Oil Company is the largest single employer of labor. In 1935 this firm had 19,094 employees in the oil fields in addition to its workers in the refinery and tin plate works in Syriam, across the Pegu River from Rangoon.²⁰ In one year the company paid out Rs. 553 lakhs in wages. There have been some labor unrest and several strikes in the oil fields, principally among the Burmese employers. During an oil field strike, a Rangoon Burmese weekly showed on its cover a cartoon of a foreigner against a background of oil derricks, grasping a Burmese laborer with one hand while his other hand was filled with bank note

¹⁹ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 51.

²⁰ *Campbell Report*, 403-4.

and currency.²¹ The managerial positions were held by Britishers; production was at one time supervised by American drillers, and the actual labor is done by natives of upper Burma. There are many Indians in the oil fields as semi-skilled laborers and tradesmen. The Burmah Oil Company is prosperous, perhaps too prosperous since its ordinary stock paid a dividend of twenty-one per cent in 1938 and petrol prices were the highest in Burma's history. The excise tax accounted for more than half of the retail price of petrol.

Throughout Burma the oil, mining, and forestry enterprises owe their present development to European initiative. Mandalay, the most typically Burmese city, has lost population from 170,071 in 1891 to 134,950 in 1931, but increased to 163,527 in 1941 as a result of war, and its industries, aside from European or Government-owned establishments, are on a village scale. The Burman has taken very little part in the development of the natural resources of his own country. Chinese and Indian immigrants and capitalists have done vastly more than the Burman himself. A typical British firm, Steel Brothers and Company, is extensively interested in oil, rice, cement, timber, importing, cotton, and general trade, averaging a net profit of £400,000 per year on a capitalization of £4,000,000. The usual dividend rate is eight per cent; in 1929 the company made a net profit of £517,802.²² While there has been some retrenchment during the depression, profits have continued regularly. Affiliated companies such as the Burma Cotton Company and the Consolidated Cotton and Oil Mills, with plants at Myingyan, Thayetmyo and elsewhere, shared the prosperity of the parent firm. Among other large companies should be mentioned the Burma Corporation, the British Burma Petroleum Company, the Indo-Burma Petroleum Company, the Rangoon Electric Tramways and the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation.

Only small quantities of Burma cotton are turned into finished goods within the country. There are several small cotton mills in the vicinity of Rangoon which produce hosiery, singlets, and simple fabrics. Of these the largest is the Indian-owned Violin Hosiery Works, employing principally Burmese women

²¹ *Saithan* [The 10,000,000 weekly, i.e. the 10,000,000 Burmans], II, No. 21 (June 1936).

²² *Rangoon Gazette*, April 7, 1930.

operatives and remembered as the scene of the first large-scale strike in Burma. In December 1935, six hundred workers, including four hundred Burmese women, went on strike; after a protracted walkout the issue was arbitrated to the advantage of the strikers.²³ Most of the textile mills in Burma are hardly past the experimental state, but they made great headway in quality of output and efficiency of operation during the five years before 1940.

Minor industries include the tanning of leather and the making of furniture, leather goods, trunks of leather or metal, soap, aluminum ware, matches, and many other products which do not require exact technical skill or intricate factory processes. The first rubber factory in Burma began operation in 1935.²⁴ It was organized by an Indian Muslim who had been in business for several years in Kobe, Japan, and who imported Japanese machinery and foremen for the Burma plant. There are now two rubber factories in the country; their production is not large but they indicate a trend toward industrialism in Burma and they have already requested a protective tariff. In short, Burma is on the verge of industrialization which is limited at present by her inexperience, by her lack of extensive coal and iron deposits, and by the flood of cheap manufactured goods from India and Japan. In the case of Japan the flood has been receding since that country became involved in China during 1937.

Labor in Burma is protected by the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923. Under the terms of the India Act, which after separation was carried over as Burma's compensation act, it is not necessary for the injured workman to show negligence on the part of the employer. Laborers can obtain compensation in all cases where personal injury has been caused "by accident arising out of and in the course of employment," provided they have followed safety rules and are not guilty of misconduct thereunder. Occupational diseases come within the scope of the Act, which does not however extend protection to those engaged in clerical or administrative capacities or to those who earn more than Rs. 300 per month. The administration of the Act in Burma is entrusted to special officers in the few industrial areas and to District and Sessions Judges elsewhere. In the tin

²³ *Ibid.*, December 2, 1935.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, October 21, 1935.

and tungsten mines much of the labor is performed by workers whose earnings depend upon the amount of ore extracted and the price in the world market. Although these miners work on their own initiative, there are no reported cases of average earnings exceeding Rs. 50 per month. Likewise there are no conditions of virtual peonage such as are alleged to exist in the tin mines of Yunnan. In the Northern Shan States most of the labor in the Bawdwin mines and the Namtu mills and smelter is performed by Yunnanese, about 5,000 of whom come across the frontier to Burma at the beginning of the dry season and return at the beginning of the rains. Regular employees in Namtu and Bawdwin work about eight hours a day. Monthly earnings of unskilled labor in the mines and above ground range from Rs. 30 to Rs. 45. In general, Chinese labor is supplied through contractors.

Labor in Burma is under less restraint than elsewhere in the Orient. Separate representation is provided in the Burma Legislature for Burman and non-Burman labor. Everywhere there is complete freedom of contract, and wages while still low are sufficient to give Burma a comfortable standard of living as measured by conditions elsewhere in the East.

The Census of 1931 classified the total population of Burma by occupations as follows:²⁵

	<i>Number per 1,000</i>	
	1921	1931
Agriculture and forests.....	711	696
Industry	71	107
Trade	85	90
Transport	28	36
Professions	24	32
Public administration	11	12
Domestic service	8	7
Minerals	4	6
.... Unproductive	6	4
.... Living on income.....	1	1
.... Miscellaneous	52	9

Agriculture provides employment for a total of 2,735,322 persons. Textile plants provide full-time employment for 61,715 people; the 647 rice mills employ 44,944 persons; 10,360 workers find employment in timber mills; petroleum refining occupies 8,233 employees; match factories employ 1,433 and sugar

²⁵ *Census Report, 1931*, 123. O. H. Spate, "Beginnings of Industrialization in Burma," *Economic Geography*, XVII (1941), 75-92, is a valuable recent study of industrial Burma with Tables and Maps.

refineries 1,393. The total number of factory employees in Burma, excluding the textile workers, many of whom work at home and not in mills, is 90,322. Of these, only 88 workers are under 20 years of age; it is therefore apparent that the problem of juvenile workers does not exist in serious proportions.²⁶

MINERAL PRODUCTION

Burma's greatest economic value to the British Empire is her production of rice and petroleum. Burma is the only important source of oil within the Empire in the old world. The Burmese for centuries have produced earth oil from shallow wells in the Yenangyaung area along the Irrawaddy. The Burmah Oil Company was organised in 1886 and the first modern well in the district was sunk by American drillers in 1904. Shortly thereafter the Burmah Oil Company and its affiliated companies purchased the D'Arcy concessions in Persia and thus became the largest producer of petrol within the British Empire. Its Iranian holdings were later reorganized into the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, well known for its official control by British Government interests. Incorporated in Scotland with a capitalization of £13,500,000, the Burmah Oil Company is prosperous and has paid an unfailing dividend. The report of the company's operations for 1939 registered a slight reduction in profits as compared with the previous year, and indicated that of the company's gross proceeds 34 per cent went in taxation, 19½ per cent in salaries and wages, 6½ per cent in freights to third parties, 33½ per cent in stores, rents and depreciation, and 6½ per cent remained for reserves and dividends. The dividend rates varied from 5 per cent on its ordinary stock to 8 per cent on the cumulative preferred.

Nearly all of Burma's gasoline is marketed between Aden and Hongkong; small quantities of Burma lubricating oils are sold in England, but the Colony in turn imports considerable quantities of fuel oil from Iran. The total production of petroleum for 1937 was more than 300,000,000 imperial gallons.²⁷ Although oil production is an important factor in the economic life of Burma, her total production from 4,000 active wells

²⁶ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 84.

²⁷ *Rangoon Times*, January 12, 1939. The Burmah Oil Company in its modern plant produces superior aviation gasoline, a factor of great importance in imperial defense in the East.

amounts to only 0.5 per cent of the world yield. The great European companies have a practical monopoly of production and marketing in Burma; the Nath Singh Oil Company and the *dwinsas* (Burmese hereditary oil-well owners in the Yenangaung field) produce a negligible part of the total production. The *dwinsas* sell their oil locally for use in weatherproofing timber houses, the surplus being sold to the large companies.

Burma is well provided with a wide variety of mineral products, the most important being silver, lead, tungsten, tin, lignite (not utilized at present), copper, precious stones, limestone and clay.²⁸ The largest mines are those of the Burma Corporation at Namtu, which were first developed under modern methods by Mr. Herbert Hoover who visited the Bawdwin site in 1903, having learned from his association with the Chinese Bureau of Mines that the Yunnanese had extracted some 64,000,000 ounces of silver before the mines were abandoned in 1855.²⁹ In 1936 the corporation produced the following minerals: lead, 71,915 tons; antimonial lead, 1,240 tons; zinc concentrates, 76,807 tons; copper matte, 7,500 tons; nickel speiss, 4,325 tons; silver, 5,952,000 ounces; gold, 1,294 ounces.³⁰ These huge mines, situated about eighty miles from the Chinese frontier, produced at one time one-twelfth of the total revenue of the Burma Railways. Before the World War, Burma was the largest producer of tungsten in the world,³¹ and since the interruption of mineral export from China the mines of Mawchi and Tavoy again ship more wolfram than any other area. The Mawchi mines, the world's most important single source of tungsten, alone produced 35 per cent of the world's prewar requirement and about 85 per cent of the British empire's needs of this important metal. The Burma mines are worked to their greatest capacity only at times of high prices. Burma produces about 4,000 tons of tin annually, not an important part of the world's supply. More than 100,000 carats of rubies and sapphires are produced each year. The ruby

²⁸ N. M. Penzer, *The Mineral Resources of Burma* (London, 1927), is a thorough account, and has an excellent bibliography on geology and general topics.

²⁹ *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, cit., Part I, II, 303 *et seq.*, has a description of the Bawdwin mines. The account concludes, "Probably most of the silver has been worked out." The annual production of silver since 1910 has averaged 5,000,000 ounces.

³⁰ From annual report of Burma Corporation, *Rangoon Gazette*, August 9, 1937.

³¹ Staff of Foreign Minerals Division, United States Bureau of Mines, *Mineral Raw Materials* (New York, 1937), 214. Details of mineral production in Burma for the decade 1927-37 are given in Appendix IV,

mines of Mogok were under lease to a British mining firm until 1931 when the company went into voluntary liquidation. The most famous gem which the company produced in its long career was the 'peace ruby,' so-called from its having been discovered on November 11, 1918. This magnificent gem of forty-two carats was sold at \$3,200 per carat in the rough.

Burma is famed for its jade exports although the best pieces for sale in Mandalay and Rangoon are reimports from Canton or Hongkong. Great care must be exercised in buying jade in Burma as stone of inferior color is dyed to imitate the highly prized, mottled-green imperial jade, the premier gem of China. Red, pink, black yellow, violet, mutton fat, and other varieties of jade all yield first place to the rich emerald green of Mogaung jade, truly a precious stone. The annual export is valued at about Rs. 2,00,000. The amber mines of the malarial Hukawng Valley yield less revenue to Burma than do the jade deposits. However, Prussian amber was on sale in the Mandalay bazaars at prices below the more valuable fluorescent variety from Burma. The annual production of rubies and sapphires declined to 107,915 carats in 1936.

The total value of all minerals exported from Burma in 1936 was Rs. 22,53,66,824—about U.S. \$75,000,000,—of which nearly three-fourths was mineral oil brought down from upper Burma by pipe line and shipped in tankers to Calcutta and Bombay after having been refined in Rangoon.³² During the year nearly 200,000,000 imperial gallons of kerosene and gasoline were refined in Burma. During the same year minerals to the value of Rs. 1,13,48,782 were imported into Burma, nearly half of which was coal imported from India for use of the Burma Railways, and for firing steam-powered electric lighting plants. The Irrawaddy Flotilla Company imported 326,000 tons of coal from India in 1937. Other mineral imports were diamonds, chalk and lime, clay, and tin blocks. Much Japanese and British cement is imported, but the establishment of the Burma Cement Company in 1935, and the operation of its modern plant constructed at a cost of \$1,000,000, has reduced Burma's dependence upon the imported product. Cement works under British ownership and management are a subsidiary of Steel Brothers and Company and are tied in a marketing agreement with the Indian cement cartel. Much of the machinery is

³² Rangoon Gazette, January 4, 1937.

Danish manufacture, while the plant utilizes Burma limestone in the vicinity of Thayetmyo.

In general the policy since the World War has been to restrict mineral development in Burma to enterprises under direction of British subjects—English, Indian, Chinese, or Burmese. This is done by means of a prospecting license which is required before anyone may engage in mineral exploration or development.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIAL BURMA

While Burma is a country without an hereditary aristocracy, there are well-recognized levels and differences in Burmese society. Under her own monarchs it was possible for a person of ability to rise to the highest office in the state, but at the same time Burma was not the perfect democracy that it has been pictured. In point of fact, knowledge of the social structure of the country before 1885 is still fragmentary. There were no hereditary titles, no large landed estates, and no offices or assets that were not subject to confiscation by the king. Despite this theoretical insecurity of holdings there are even today numerous families of upper Burma *thugyis* (village headmen) who trace their ancestry back through the same office for several centuries.

THE BURMAN AT HOME

City-born and English-educated Burmans are quite in touch with the modern world; in this and other respects they differ greatly from the agriculturalists of the hills and plains of upper Burma. In villages of the latter area many of the men still wear long hair under their *gaungbaungs*,¹ whereas in the cities all men have Western-style haircuts, except a few who wear their hair long for reasons of patriotism or nationalism. In general there is greater prosperity, or at any rate more cash handled by the delta Burman or Karen than by the small landholder of upper Burma. This is recognized by the fact that the payment of Rs. 500 in land revenue in upper Burma qualifies a Burman for election to the Senate, whereas Rs. 1,000 is required of a candidate from lower Burma.² However, basically the upper Burman's economic position may be more sound than that of his delta brother because of diversified sources of income. A typical family in an upper Burma village will own singly or jointly perhaps fifteen acres of land, a yoke of bullocks, its own house and garden with a few fruit trees. All cultivators live in

¹ The *gaungbaung* is a small silver turban, quite unlike the Indian turban.

² *Government of Burma Act, 1935, Section 12, Schedule III*

villages rather than on their lands although they may have field huts in which they live during the crop season for convenience and in order to safeguard their crops.

Burmese houses are constructed of bamboo matting side-walls, a floor of sawn boards, and a roof of thatch. The houses of headmen or wealthy villagers may have timber walls and roofs of corrugated iron. In Rangoon and other cities, homes of upper-class Burmans are quite similar to those of their European or Indian neighbors. Burmans appear to have a flair for architecture, and some of the finest modern bungalows in Rangoon were designed by Burmans who were trained abroad. In the villages Burmese houses usually are erected upon posts some five feet above the ground; underneath are kept the spinning and weaving equipment where the lady of the house and her daughters work at weaving from native cotton or cotton twist purchased in the nearby market town. A typical villager of the better class will have a kerosene lamp or lantern for light. Upper Burma villages are usually surrounded by a bamboo fence with a gate which is closed at night. Lower Burma villages are seldom fenced. Each house is separated from its neighbors by a cactus hedge or a bamboo fence. In the yard there is usually a small threshing floor, a place to keep the bullocks and farm implements, while outside the village there is a common grazing ground and a threshing floor which may be shared by several families in preparing paddy, sesamum, *pe*, or other field crops for the market or domestic use. House sites formerly were available without cost wherever there was unoccupied land in the village.³ The current tendency is to regularize land tenure in the villages as well as in the fields.

In every village there are several families who own sewing machines; others operate small shops selling candles, matches, cheroots, soap, cotton goods, oil, imported hardware, textiles and notions. Upcountry villages have at least one home-made mill for pressing oil from sesamum, and in larger villages a blacksmith who makes and repairs agricultural implements. In most lower Burma villages there is a Chinese or Indian shop-keeper who deals in the usual village goods, who may do a bit of money lending, or who frequently acts as a broker in the sale of rice or other crops, or who may control the local fishery license. There are yet many upper Burma villages that contain

³ Ma Mya Sein, *op. cit.*, 84.

no immigrants, but the number is decreasing.

An average village has from two to four dozen houses and is perhaps two miles from neighboring villages; large villages in lower Burma may have as many as two hundred houses. Village roads and paths are crooked, and the entire scene is laid out in complete defiance of the compass, but in entire harmony with the intense individualism of the Burman. The village has several wells common to all, or the villagers may jointly support a water cartman who brings water from a stream or reservoir some distance from the village. At the edge of the village is the local monastery presided over by a venerated *pongyi* under whose direction all the boys learn their *kagee*, *kagway* (the Burmese A B C), simple arithmetic and much picturesque misinformation on history and geography. In addition the *pongyi* ordinarily is called upon for advice in sickness and other village problems. The Burmese have a superb sense of humor from which not even the village elders and the local ecclesiastics escape, as witnessed by this village proverb: When one consults the oracle as to the cure of a sick rooster, the answer is always, "Sacrifice a buffalo."

While life in Burma is not particularly strenuous, there is always work to be done if the family wishes to live comfortably. The staple diet in upper Burma is rice, to which is added a curry of meat, vegetables, various savory leaves, *ngapi* (a fish paste offensive to foreign nostrils but alleged to be rich in food values), all seasoned to what appears to the European palate to be a highly sensational degree. The upper Burman diet is definitely more varied and adequate than that of lower Burma which consists largely of rice and fish, with a lesser selection of fruits and vegetables than is available above the delta. Except for this shortage of fruits and vegetables in the delta, the Burman is well nourished, has good dental development and, except in rare times of distress, does not suffer from malnutrition. There is little of the grinding poverty which is so distressing in neighboring India and China. The rural Burman is perhaps in better physical condition than the Burman of the town who indulges his taste for European sweets and delicacies.

Thanks to the advertisements of cosmetics and dentifrice the custom of tattooing the body among men and the habit of betel-nut chewing among both sexes are on the decline. However, all Burmans are inveterate smokers of com-

cheroots or foreign cigarettes. Liquor drinking is not a typical Burmese vice although there is considerable use of native toddy. Government-licensed liquor stores are patronized principally by immigrants, a situation quite different from that prevailing in neighboring Thailand.⁴

Cooking is done over a wood or charcoal fire in a rear kitchen frequently detached from the main house. The family eats at a low round table, usually seated on the floor or on low stools, the father and sons eating first and the wife and daughters later. However, this habit is passing, and families of officials and other of the upper strata frequently eat together at European-style tables using imported chinaware and cutlery. The jungle Burman eats with his fingers or with a Chinese-style spoon. Families usually sleep on European-type beds or upon mats rolled out on the floors at night, using ordinary pillows and in the cool season hand-woven or imported blankets for covering. There are usually two bedrooms, and a living room or large veranda where guests are received. Except in the larger towns, houses of more than one floor are uncommon. Windows ordinarily open at floor level for coolness in sleeping, and there are other concessions to convenience in a typical Burmese house.

While tidiness is one of the last gifts of civilization, Burmans of the upper and middle classes are normally scrupulously clean and fastidious in their homes and persons. A jungle home may lack cleanliness and orderliness. At least one bath is taken daily at the village well or on the rear veranda, and Burmans are astonished to learn that the same rule is not always followed by foreigners in their homelands. Imported hygiene books that urge at least three baths per week are lost on the Burmese. The same standards of personal cleanliness are not observed by the hill tribes, except for the Shans who are excellent house-keepers.

Burmans are usually astir early; a *chota hazri* of coffee or tea and toast is eaten at six followed by work in the fields or shops until 10 a.m. when a substantial breakfast of rice and curry is eaten. The evening meal of rice and curry comes at about five o'clock in the afternoon. Following the evening meal the Burmese like to visit their neighbors or stroll about the town. Shows or *pwes* occupy many until late at night or early morning. They are intensely individualistic and have little adaptability

⁴ Kenneth Perry Landon, *Siam in Transition* (Chicago, 1939), 151.

for the regimentation and disciplines of modern life. For this reason they have been considered unsuitable for the police or the military forces, but they are rapidly adjusting themselves to these requirements.

In conclusion, Burmese civilization as a whole perhaps resembles that of Siam more closely than it does that of India or China. Burma has no caste; the women are freer than in any other Oriental country. The marriage age is approximately the same as that in Western lands, and there is reasonable freedom of choice in marriage among both young men and young women. In short, the entire social structure is based upon democratic, not traditional lines. The mass standard of living is considerably higher than that of India or China, and Burma is in advance of Thailand in this respect. Birth and death rates are lower than in China and India. Although Burmese parents are fond of children to the point of being exceedingly indulgent, the exception rather than the rule, and only the Burmese know why there are not more babies in the ordinary village. Burmese family life moves along at an even tempo; the lady of the house is well able to manage the business of the household, and in many respects she is the more ambitious half of the partnership. The man of the house seldom misses his daily siesta.

WOMEN IN BURMA

Women occupy a place in Burmese society not vastly different from that held by their sisters in Occidental lands. Since pre-British days Burmese women have enjoyed equal rights by law and custom in property ownership, divorce, business, and inheritance. Women in Burma appear quite content to occupy their traditional place in the home and in petty trade. Burma has no women's party, no feminist movement. Women do not consider their interests as being separate from those of men. Likewise they have escaped both the purdah of India and the footbinding of China. Burma has no equivalent of China's Madame Chiang Kai-shek or India's Sarojini Naidu.

When the Sardar Act prohibiting the marriage of males under eighteen and females under fourteen went into effect on April 1, 1930, it applied to Burma which was then a province of the Indian Empire.⁵ While marriages of girls of fourteen are not

⁵ Child Marriage Restriction Act, Government of India Act, XIX of 1922.

unknown in Burma, they are extremely rare. The average marriage age for women in Burma is eighteen to twenty—higher in the cities, slightly lower in the villages. Publication of the Act therefore caused some surprise. Burmese women of all classes go to bazaars and the cinema unattended, a thing rarely done in India. There is no joint-family system as among Indian Hindus, no subordination of the daughter-in-law to the dowager of the household as in both India and China. Moreover Burma has no *mui tsai* problem, no concubinage, little polygamy, no congaic system as was once common in French Indo-China, and there is no objection to the remarriage of widows. Nor is there any change of name in marriage: Ma Hla Yin before her marriage to Maung Tun Maung will be Ma Hla Yin after marriage. She wears no wedding ring; there is no change of coiffure or costume to indicate that she has been married. As in China, there is a tendency among city Burmese to adopt the forms of Western marriage such as the veil and the wedding ring among Christians, and occasionally among non-Christians. While the new couple may live the first year with the parents of either party, usually they set up a home of their own as would any new family abroad.

There are still some superstitions connected with marriage customs; for example, a girl born on Sunday should marry if possible a boy who was born on Tuesday. Among Burmese women marriage almost invariably results in greater economic independence than before marriage. She then is entitled to her earnings in the bazaar or at some cottage craft, whereas these formerly were absorbed by her parents. A Burmese young lady seldom leaves the home of her parents to follow an independent career before she is married. The above generalizations apply to the women of subsidiary races in Burma. However, Shan, Karen, Chin women and those of tribal areas have less freedom than do Burmese women. Karen women excel in the nursing profession; Karen nurses and midwives were found in nearly all Government hospitals in Burma.⁶

Divorce, fairly common and reasonably respectable, is decreasing. Proceedings may be instituted by either party with

⁶ The pertinent chapter in *Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry, Fact Finders Reports, India-Burma*, IV, Pt. II (New York, 1933), is the only extensive study of women in modern Burma, and it views the problem from one angle. Cited hereinafter as *Laymen's Report*.

equal ease. For Christians, the slowness characteristic of British divorce laws applies. In rural areas divorces are granted by the village elders; in cases where large properties are involved civil authorities are asked to make a disposition of the joint property. In all cases the divorcee retains the property which she had upon marriage and she usually receives half of that acquired jointly.

Intermarriage among non-European races in Burma is quite common. Burmese women have slight objection to marriage with Chinese immigrants. The Chinese are good providers; they are fond of children, and they usually accumulate property. Marriage with Indians is not regarded so favorably because of the difference in race and religion. The Indian is regarded as a foreigner whereas the Chinese are considered as cousins. Marriages between Europeans and Burmese are decreasing in number; they were quite common immediately following the annexation of upper Burma when there were relatively few European women in the country. Marriages between European women and men of the country, while not unknown, are less common. Since 1885 several high officials in Burma have been Europeans with Burmese wives; under Government rules no alliances other than marriage are recognized between officials and women of the country.

Prostitution in Burma is traceable in part of the great preponderance of males among Indian and Chinese immigrants. Rangoon has no segregated districts, and no legal protection is given to traffic in women. Although no complete statistics are available, it is believed that the vice problem in Burma is less serious than in India, Malaysia, and elsewhere in the East. The Rangoon Vigilance Society is an active organization of women of all races and religions, having as its object the protection of women and the prosecution of brothel keepers.

Burmese women have taken slight interest in politics and public office. The first election under the new constitution recorded a disappointingly small number of women who took advantage of their new franchise. Burmese women were consulted in the discussions preliminary to the new constitution of 1937. Dr. Ma Saw Sa, a Karen Christian physician, advised the Burma Reforms Committee that the women of Burma did not wish separate seats reserved for lady candidates in the new Burma Legislature. Burmese women candidates compete evenly with

men at the polls.⁷ Daw Mya Sein, daughter of U May Oung, Burma's first Home Member, attended the Burma Round Table Conference in London as one of the delegates. Dr. Ma Saw Sa represented the women of Burma before the Joint Select Committee and later was the first woman to serve in the Burma Senate. Daw Hnin Mya, sister of the anti-separationist U Chit Hlaing, was the first woman elected to the Burma Legislative Council under the old government, whereupon she graciously offered to permit the Burmese gentleman whom she had defeated at the polls to occupy her desk in the Council.

Although the number is increasing, few Burmese women have qualified for the legal, dental, or medical professions. Several are in Government service as inspectresses of schools; others are in the public health services or are engaged in the social work of municipalities or other local bodies. Daw Kha Toon of Letpadan was the first woman elected president of a Burma municipality.⁸ Burmese women have acted as "headmen" of villages, and in several instances have been rewarded by the Government for their courage in dealing with crime. Daw Daw Su was for many years before her death in 1936 the owner and publisher of the *New Light of Burma*, a leading vernacular daily newspaper. Burmese women are numerous in the teaching profession where, because of their sprightly good nature and capacity for making the best of every situation, they are superior in the classroom. During the present decade many Burmese young women have taken commercial training and found employment in sales and clerical positions.

Literacy among women in Burma increased five per cent from 1921 to 1931, and 30,714 women were literate in English at the end of that decade.⁹ The modern Burmese girl is keenly interested in education, and in 1931 despite the fact that the monastic schools do not admit girls, ten per cent of all Buddhist women were literate; twenty-eight per cent of Christian women were literate. Literacy among women in Burma proper was believed to be above thirty-five per cent in 1940. According to the Calendar of Rangoon University, the first Bachelor of Arts degree earned by a Burmese woman was awarded in 1918. Several

⁷ It was proposed to reserve three seats for women, but Dr. Ma Saw Sa informed the J.S.C. that the women of Burma did not desire this reservation. J.S.C., *cit.*, I, Part 1, 266.

⁸ Rangoon Gazette, July 1, 1935.

⁹ Census Report, 1931, 115.

degrees had been earned previously in Burma by women from other racial groups.

Rangoon has a considerable number of clubs and other organizations in which Burmese, Indian, Chinese, and European women share opportunities for social service. Among these should be mentioned the National Council of Women in Burma, Girl Guides, Social Service League, Rangoon Vigilance Society, Prisoners' Aid Society, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Society for the Prevention of Infant Mortality, Girls' Friendly Society, Children's Aid and Protection Society, and numerous other social and religious associations.

Despite the fact that Burmese women are free from the restrictions that characterize many Oriental countries, the man is recognized as the undoubted head of the house. Throughout rural Burma a dutiful wife walks behind her husband, except after dark when she often precedes him with a lantern. The idealistic relations portrayed as having existed between Wethandaya and his queen Mahdi are regarded as a model for domestic happiness.¹⁰

HEALTH

Because of a higher standard of living, general health standards in Burma are higher than in India, China, and Thailand. The suitability of Burmese houses and clothing to the humid tropical climate, the generally adequate food supply, and the outdoor life led by the great majority of the population undoubtedly are partly responsible for this fortunate situation. The methods of the Burmese *sesaya* are empirical and the native pharmacopocia is on a comparable level. However, Burmese *pongyis* and *sesayas* generally are credited with one great medical discovery: for centuries they have used oil of chaulmoogra (a low tree native to Burma) in the treatment of leprosy, and from them the knowledge passed to the Western world. In recent years the *sesayas* claimed to have discovered a new disease which they called "*metkalaung*"; it was in reality nothing more than malaria. Upper Burma villages turn slowly from their native doctors and medicine to the Government hospitals and dispensaries which are available everywhere within reasonable

¹⁰ In this Burmese version of the most appealing of the tales told of the Buddha, Wessantara appears as Wethandaya, Mahdi as Mahi, Jeta as Zeta, and Krishnayana as Ganayana. It is available in English and in innumerable other versions.

distance to all who live in the thickly settled areas. Although no special training is required to set up a native Burmese doctor in practice, European-trained medical men are under careful registration and control.

Despite a generally improved standard of living, there are several unfavorable aspects to the health scene in Burma. Rangoon is charged with having the second highest death rate from tuberculosis in the world,¹¹ it having been estimated that more than 10,000 people living in the town are afflicted with the disease. The problem has been taken in hand and there are now two special clinics for tuberculosis patients in Rangoon, and a hospital situated in the upper Burma dry zone has been planned. While the adult death rate is lower than that of any province of India, the infant death rate is the second highest in India. Statistics for urban and rural Burma are:¹²

VITAL STATISTICS FOR 1935

	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Average</i>
Birth rate	32.92	33.89	33.03
Death rate	19.13	30.18	20.42
Infant mortality	176.55	255.82	186.04

Prome town reported an infant mortality of 268 per thousand children under one year of age,¹³ and Bassein the following year reported the appalling rate of 283.36 infant deaths per thousand.¹⁴ These are more striking when contrasted with an infant mortality rate of less than one hundred for Japan, and approximately fifty for the United States. The birth rate in Burma has not declined appreciably, being 32.1 per thousand of population in 1911 and 32.0 per thousand in 1937. During the same period the general death rate declined from 25.4 to 20.5 per thousand, while Japan's death rate was 17 per thousand, lower than any recorded on the mainland of Asia.

Public health is currently receiving more attention in Burma than ever before. An Annual Health Week Exhibit is held in Rangoon with emphasis upon rural and domestic sanitation, hygiene of a model village, and other problems associated with public health. In 1930 the Rockefeller Foundation co-operated with the Public Health Department in the establishment of a

¹¹ Report by Public Health Officer, *Rangoon Gazette*, June 25, 1937.

¹² *Report on Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 110.

¹³ *Rangoon Gazette*, August 26, 1935.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, December 16, 1936.

public health demonstration unit at Hlegu in the Insein District. Successful work in malaria prevention, waste disposal in bored pits, a model village water supply, infant welfare methods, and similar activities were undertaken. The Foundation has since withdrawn from the project which is now under sole direction of the Government health services. Largely as a result of the successful record of this unit, the Government of India in 1935 gave Burma a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs and 5,000 pounds of quinine sulphate for rural uplift work in Burma.¹⁵ Sanitation in Burmese villages is still in a primitive state. Municipalities differ greatly in the efficiency of their administration of public health protection, but without exception the slaughter and sale of meat is under inspection which is usually maintained by means of licensing municipally constructed and owned slaughterhouses and markets for the sale of beef, mutton, and pork. Since the object is in part the raising of municipal revenues, the fees are at times set so high as to encourage the smuggling of unlicensed meat, especially pork. There is not a large-scale dairy operating on European standards in the country although during the past five years Rangoon has taken up the problem of safeguarding its milk supply. Much of the fish consumed in lower Burma is daily brought on ice from the delta coast, the trade being principally in the hands of South Indians.

Care and preparation of fruits and vegetables for the Rangoon market leaves much to be desired; there was no railway refrigerator service for the shipment of the abundant fruits and vegetables of the Shan States to the cities of lower Burma. Rangoon in 1941 completed the installation of a modern water supply system which provided 25,000,000 gallons of water daily for the city of more than 400,000 people. The water is brought from the Pegu Yomas, nearly one hundred miles from the city.

Intoxicating liquors are consumed in Burma principally by the immigrant population. However, there is a growing tendency for the Burman to disregard the fifth commandment of Buddha by consuming the native toddy, imported liquors, or the product of Burma's one brewery and three distilleries. The annual output of the Mandalay brewery remained rather constant during the decade 1930-40 at slightly less than 200,000 gallons. The three distilleries normally produce less than 50,000 gallons, of which more than half is issued to troops stationed!

¹⁵ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 115

in Burma.¹⁶ Approximately 500,000 gallons of imported liquor reach Burma each year, principally beer, ale, porter, and rum. In general, the liquor shops are operated by Chinese and patronized principally by Indians of the lower classes. The Burmese are opposed to the liquor habit; they are not as a race addicted to the use of imported spirits. A respectable Burman would hesitate to be seen around a Government-licensed shop, whereas he may have a drink or two at home or at his club.

Opium sale through Government-licensed shops has a long history in Burma as a part of the Indian Empire. No Burman *banesa* (opium eater) is considered a respectable member of society, and the use of opium among the better classes of Burmese is extremely rare; it is seldom smoked in Burma except by the Chinese. There are 121 licensed shops in Burma,¹⁷ but both the number of shops and the consumption of the drug are decreasing. The crop is grown principally in the Northern Shan States, and the smuggling of opium across the borders to and from China, India and Thailand constitutes the worst problem in the control of opium consumption in Burma. The hemp drug (*ganja*) continues to be consumed extensively by Indians only. Burmans have no taste for *ganja*. Before the reduction of the coasting trade from Amoy to Rangoon by vessels of the Hong Line consequent upon the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict, annual seizures of 700,000 grains of cocaine and morphia were reported.¹⁸ While there have been reports of Japanese smuggling of narcotics into Burma, these are not authenticated.

Socialized medicine is long past the experimental stage in Burma. The Government has established three hundred hospitals and dispensaries throughout the centers of population. These are in addition to railway hospitals, military police hospitals and special facilities for European and Indian troops in Burma. Moreover, in certain isolated regions government subsidies are provided for private practitioners. More than three million patients are treated annually in Government hospitals, most of them without any charge. It must be said that the standard of medical care generally was not high. Fees are expected for special treatments and from those who are able to pay, but no one is turned away for lack of funds. According to the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 102-3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Annual Report on Hospitals and Dispensaries in Burma During 1939, the Rangoon General Hospital admitted 16,479 patients during the year while there was a daily average of 889 in-patients. A new radium clinic was opened during the year. The Dufferin Hospital for Women treated 6,372 patients and had a daily average of 183 in-patients, most of whom were in the maternity wards. The total number of patients treated in all hospitals and dispensaries in Burma and the Shan States during the year was 4,322,310 (3,954,867 in 1938) of whom 604,049 were treated for malaria. The larger hospitals have special wards or rooms for which there is a moderate charge. Medical service in Burma is under direction of the Indian Medical Service. During 1940 there were thirty-eight of these top-ranking officers in Burma. Five were specialists attached to the Rangoon hospitals; fourteen held the post of Civil Surgeon and Public Health Officer in the various districts. Subordinate officers are chosen from the cadre of the Indian Medical Department, the Burma Civil Surgeons, or the Burma Civil Assistant Surgeons. The majority of all the appointments outside the Burma Medical Service are held by non-Europeans. Private practitioners who hold degrees from British or Indian medical schools maintain offices in the principal cities of Burma. Few Burmans have qualified for the highest British medical degrees, and the author does not know of one Burmese dentist with competent Western training. Most of the dentists are Chinese or Japanese, some of whom have excellent qualifications.

Medical education is provided by the Medical College of Rangoon University, which trains fully-qualified physicians and surgeons. The attendance in this well-equipped institution averages about 150, approximately fifty per cent of whom are Burmese. In 1936 there were 117 men and 28 women enrolled. In addition, the Government Medical School trains men to a considerably lower standard for service in the lower grades of the Medical Department. The training of nurses and midwives in the Dufferin Hospital for Women in Rangoon is well advanced, and there are four hundred female nurses employed in all the hospitals of Burma. However, the Burman of the rural areas usually comes into the world without benefit of modern obstetrical methods. While the old practice of subjecting the mother to intense heat after childbirth has disappeared, it is only in the vicinity of Government hospitals that the assistance

of trained midwives is sought. Only some forty-one per cent of the confinements are attended by competent midwives and this perhaps accounts in part for the high infant mortality.

Malaria in its numerous forms is the greatest single cause of deaths among adults, two-fifths of all deaths being attributed to "fevers." In one of the Shan States forty per cent of all children above the age of two years suffer from the enlarged spleens associated with malaria. One of the jail industries is the preparation of cinchona tablets, 4,282,380 of which were sold or distributed free by the district treasuries during 1935 in an effort to reduce the incidence of malaria. The principal causes of death in 1935 were:¹⁹

<i>Disease</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Total</i>
Fevers	4,483	83,943	88,426
Respiratory diseases	8,889	3,065	11,954
Cholera	1,128	5,730	6,858
Accidents	1,125	1,608	2,733
Snakes and wild animals.....	80	2,181	2,261
Plague	526	786	1,312
Smallpox	538	724	1,262
Suicide	54	168	222
Rabics	46	167	213
Other causes	23,822	101,706	125,528

During January 1937 there were 415 deaths throughout Burma for plague,²⁰ the disease having spread to Burma from India about 1904. Although many district Councils have passed regulations requiring compulsory vaccination, which is carried out without cost, from vaccines made in Burma, smallpox is still relatively common in rural districts. During 1925, an average year, 1,527,027 persons were vaccinated. During 1936 the Pasteur Institute in Rangoon provided anti-rabic treatment for 3,431 individual cases.²¹ Venereal diseases afflict nearly eighty per cent of the people in the Sumprabum District in the Kachin Hills, and it has been estimated that some five million out of Burma's fifteen million people have or have had venereal disease.²² Trachoma, leprosy, beriberi, cholera, dengue fever, amoebic and bacillary dysentery, sprue, and other diseases reduce human efficiency in Burma, but anyone exercising rea-

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 113.

²⁰ *Rangoon Gazette*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1937.

²² *Administration Report, 1935-36*, 16. When statistics formerly were made public, 25 per cent of the men in the university and 50 per cent of the Indian men in Rangoon were afflicted.

sonable precautions may enjoy long and pleasant life in the country. According to the census of 1931 there were 11,127 lepers in the Province, for the care of whom the present policy is the granting of Government subsidies to private, usually mission-operated, asylums. Burma is relatively free from certain parasitic diseases that afflict other parts of the tropics. There is no yellow fever. Goiter is extremely common among women in the Shan States along the Chinese frontier. Two mental hospitals are maintained at Government expense, caring for about 1,200 patients.

Burma has become decidedly health-conscious. The Red Cross in Burma promotes a National Health Week. The St. John's Ambulance Association has numerous chapters throughout the country, and classes in first aid are common. Maternity and child welfare societies are active on a voluntary basis, and since 1935 a Burma Health School for the training of public health visitors has been in successful operation. Immigrants to Burma are examined by the Port Health Authority, Rangoon, and the staff of the General Hospital gives an annual medical inspection to more than 15,000 rickshaw pullers. A casual visitor to Burma is impressed with the differences in health standards as compared with those of the Occident, but progress is being made. Burmese men and women are inveterate smokers of their long cheroots or, in the cities, cigarettes. The habit of chewing betel nut is declining among Burmans of the better classes as it is considered at present more suitable for rustics. Although football is played in nearly every town in the country, the physical culture movements has not yet reached Burma in force. The Burmese gentleman seldom plays golf although tennis is popular with both sexes in the university and among official and professional classes. As an evidence of the increasing health-consciousness in Burma, its leading residents of all races made hospitals the object of charitable bequests. Mr. B. Purcell of Mandalay gave more than \$100,000 for the construction of new wards, nurses' hostels, and X-ray equipment at Mandalay and Maymyo, and his example has been followed by other Europeans, and by Burmese, Indians, and Chinese.

CRIME, POLICE, AND PRISONS

During its union with British India for more than a century, Burma was consistently the most criminal province in the Empire.

pire. The rate for thefts alone was three and one-half times greater than the average for India, and murders, dacoities and cattle thefts greatly exceeded, in proportion to population, similar crimes in India. Reasons for this unhappy comparison are difficult to assess. Aside from anti-Indian riots, Burma has been practically free from internal communal strife and "terrorism" which have been common in recent years in India. Normally, in contrast with India, few crimes have a religious or communal basis. There have been instances of Indian terrorists from Bengal who established themselves in Burma. In 1932 a revolutionary plot came to light having as its object the murder of the Governor, Sir Charles Innes, on Convocation Day at the University of Rangoon, because of his advocacy of separation from India.²³ Burmese tempers are explosive as compared with those of the more placid Indians; the Burmese themselves often admit that they are "*seik htoo de*" (short tempered). A more valid reason is perhaps that Burma has nearly two million first-generation immigrants, many of whom came to the country without funds and seeking employment. Among these are some with criminal records who are in search of greener pastures. Throughout the delta, in addition to some 200,000 immigrants who arrive and depart each year, numerous drifters from upper Burma villages come down for seasonal employment during the rice harvest. Furthermore, due to short-term tenancies the population of the delta shifts about frequently. These diverse reasons conspire to give the lower half of Burma a crime problem that has defied solution.

One result of this fluid population is that lower Burma towns and villages have many transients who do not become well known to the headmen and local police officials, thus making crime detection and suppression more difficult and removing the restraints that come with a settled population. An additional cause of the high crime rate since 1930 is the series of racial riots which have been sporadic during the present decade. In short, during the century 1840-1940 the delta has been a frontier region, having the usual unsettled population found in lands under development. The Burmese attitude toward crime is somewhat unusual and may contribute to the excessive crime rate. Criminals, the vast majority of whom have been convicted

²³ A full account appeared in the *Rangoon Gazette*, February 24, 1936, in connection with the debate on the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

for petty theft and minor crime only, are generally considered by the community to have expiated their offenses upon release from jail. There is little shame attached to a court conviction; however desirable this willingness to forgive may be from a sociological viewpoint, the public attitude of general indifference with respect to law violation has been regarded by authorities as contributing to the frequency of crime in Burma.

Although Burma has no criminal tribes such as are found in India, the Tharrawaddy District between Rangoon and Prome has long been noted for its high incidence of crime. In this area the nationalist *wunthannu* organizations have had their greatest strength; and the rebellion of 1931 had its origin there. Tharrawaddy is perhaps less prosperous than the average district in Burma, particularly that part of it lying north of the Burma railways. Here there has been considerable resentment over the inclusion in reserved forests of areas in which the villagers formerly exploited the timber and bamboo. Burma proper is the scene of most of the crime in the country. The Shan States and the frontier areas, except for occasional smuggling, have little crime. For example, the first execution for murder in thirty years in Hsipaw State occurred in 1935 at the hands of a firing squad from the Sawbwa's guard.²⁴ Of crime and police in the Karenni States, the *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36* commented: "The State Police are inexperienced and not very bright. They have, however, little to do."²⁵

Approximately 45,000 true cases of cognizable crime are investigated by the police each year.²⁶ Convictions are obtained in nearly seventy per cent of the cases. Serious crimes for the first six months of the years 1936-40 were as below:²⁷

	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
Important crimes excluding murder	468	421	407	532	472
Murders	539	532	581	691	743
Cases involving firearms	160	162	145	151	173

The high figures for 1940 include three dacoities (gang robberies) and thirty-nine murders committed during communal riots. Over a period of years there were about 1,140 murders, 700 dacoities, and 1,900 major robberies per annum. Other an-

²⁴ Rangoon Gazette, November 24, 1935.

²⁵ Page 11.

²⁶ The number for 1936 was 45,747, according to the *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1936*.

²⁷ Rangoon Gazette, June 1940.



Old British gun positions at Lancaster Gate, Kohima



A bazaar crowded in the Shan States

nual averages in various classes of crime include about 7,500 prosecutions under the Excise Act; 1,800 cases under the Gambling Act; 750 cases under the Arms Act; 7,000 prosecutions under the Motor Vehicles Act. Rangoon town reported in addition 11,405 cases of cognizable crime in 1935 and 20,496 cases of non-cognizable crime,²⁸ the latter being principally minor offenses. During 1935 the Habitual Offenders Restriction Act was repealed, against the desires of the police administration. The Finger Print Bureau, maintained by the Criminal Investigation Department, has cards on nearly 225,000 persons who have criminal histories. Counterfeiting is so common that both buyer and seller habitually sound all silver rupees when exchanging coins over the counter. Train robbery, in the sense of an organized holdup, is almost unknown, but petty thefts from stations, passenger and freight trains keep the Railway Police occupied. During 1936, sentences of whipping numbered 3,789 out of 14,262 cases in which such sentences were permissible. Juvenile crime is no more prevalent in Burma than elsewhere in the Orient; 982 young offenders were dealt with during 1936. Of these, 282 were sent to one of the juvenile training schools, 110 were released in the custody of parents or guardians, whereas only three juvenile offenders were imprisoned.²⁹

Burma's police force is divided into several categories. The Deputy Commissioner of each district is aided in the maintenance of law and order by the district police under charge of a District Superintendent of Police. More than half of the forty officers who hold this rank are Burmese or members of one of the other racial groups indigenous to Burma. The civil police in the country have been under control of the Burma Legislature since the maintenance of law and order became a transferred subject in 1937. The police are not allowed to vote, belong to political parties, or otherwise participate in politics. In 1937 there were 356 permanent police stations and 43 outposts manned by 1,800 officers and 13,000 men (about one policeman to 1,000 people), whose cost was Rs. 1,26,30,077. Although most of the officers and constables are natives of Burma, many Indian police are employed in Rangoon and other sea-coast towns. The Rangoon Town Police are under command

²⁸ *Report on Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 37.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 42.

of a Commissioner of Police who ranks in the general police force as a Deputy Inspector General. The Commissioner is usually a European, but many of his subordinate officers are Burmans or Anglo-Burmans; most of the constables are Burmese. There is also, in Rangoon only, a small cadre of European police known as the Moghul Guard. The Railway Police is a separate force of forty-four officers and four hundred men, the majority of whom are Burmese; these police have separate quarters near the larger railway stations. A police officer or constable rides on every passenger train in Burma. During 1936 these police dealt with 1,305 cases of crime on the railways: more than half of these offenses were petty theft.

Prior to separation from India in 1937, Burma had a special police force of 12,000 men known as the Military Police. They were the only police in Burma who regularly carried firearms. In 1937 six battalions of this force (the Southern Shan States, Northern Shan States, Chin Hills, Myitkyina, Bhamo, and the Reserve Battalion) were separately constituted as the Burma Frontier Force. The remaining battalions continued to exist as the Burma Military Police and are stationed in Burma proper subject to control by the Legislature and the ministers, whereas the Frontier Force units are stationed in those parts that are directly under the Governor's control. In point of fact, the composition, equipment, uniforms, pay, and other conditions of service remain almost the same for the two services. The normal duty of the Military Police is that of providing armed guards for district treasuries in addition to serving as mobile, well-armed police for duty in case of racial disturbances, riots, disasters, and similar emergencies that cannot be dealt with by local authorities. They are employed as guards for the jail camps where prisoners are worked at stone quarries and other tasks away from the centers of population. Units of the Frontier Force are stationed at Myitkyina, Bhamo, Lashio, the Chin Hills, and at various points on the frontiers facing India, Yunnan, French Indo-China, and Thailand. One of the most remote posts is at Loimwe, in Keng Tung State a short distance from the Mekong. The Frontier Force furnished guards for the Commission which, under Colonel Iselin, demarcated part of the Sino-Burmese frontier in 1936. On the frontiers they are mounted infantry supplied with mountain batteries of Lewis guns. Extensive mechanization has not been attempted.

the hands of dacoits, licenses are required for the possession of firearms of any type. Government officials, village headmen, landowners, merchants, and others who can show legitimate reasons for possessing arms and who demonstrate before a police officer their ability to use and safeguard them, have little difficulty in obtaining licenses for pistols or sporting guns. The administration has stated its policy as favoring the presence of two or three firearms in each village as an insurance against dacoity.³¹

The police in Burma perform many duties in addition to crime prevention, detection, and suppression. The Commissioner of Police, Rangoon, is the sole authority in Burma for the registration of motor vehicles, of which there are approximately 30,000 in the country. The Rangoon police also register rickshaws and horse-drawn carriages. Curiously enough the entire police system, not one member of which is subject to appointment or removal at regular elections, does not have the appearance of submitting Burma to foreign control by an external police force. Although the Criminal Investigation Department keeps close watch over subversive activities of every sort, there is no evidence of special coercion by police officers and there is distinct absence of a spy system. The administration is obviously civilian and subject to control by elected members of the Legislature, except in times of great emergency.

Every district headquarters has a jail, and there are subsidiary jails in the larger towns. During average years there are some 20,000 prisoners in all jails; during 1936 the daily average convict population was 18,989. Of these, 995 were classed as habitual offenders; approximately eighty per cent of the convicts are Buddhists, and more than seventy per cent are literate. About one hundred prisoners are executed each year and about twice that number are annually sentenced to transportation for life. Many jails have dairies, vegetable gardens, furniture and cane factories, or other means of employing the prisoners in self-support. There are special facilities for the criminally insane at the Tadagale Mental Hospital near Rangoon, and for leper prisoners at the Pagan jail.

Criminal and civil justice is administered by courts of Sessions, District and Sessions Courts, with the High Court in Rangoon the court of supreme appeal in Burma.

³¹ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1934-35*, 37.

More than half of the district magistrates and district and sessions judges are sons of Burma. In addition to the regular courts which are part of the administration, there are special courts such as the Rangoon Small Cause Court. This court disposes of about 12,000 cases each year, involving disputes over sums that range between Rs. 50 and Rs. 500 in value. Some 1,200 applications in insolvency are heard in all of the courts of Burma each year. Benches of honorary magistrates hear approximately 25,000 suits each year at little cost to the administration. An appointment as honorary magistrate is regarded as a fitting reward for a retired official or business man of influence in his particular community. The judicial service of the country is composed of ordinary members of the Burma Civil Service and the subordinate services. In the case of High Court judges, only His Majesty may remove them. Justice is reasonably expeditious. The High Court, which hears appeals in both criminal and civil cases, is the most independent unit of the Government of Burma; its justices are Burmans, Indians or British of exceptional ability and integrity, and appeals from its decisions to the Privy Council are rare.

CHAPTER X

BURMA AND THE ARTS

ARTS AND CRAFTS

While their artistic senses are well developed, the Burmese have not become widely known outside their own borders for any distinctive art production; museums and art galleries of Western lands would not yield in the aggregate an impressive collection of Burmese arts and crafts. However, it would be difficult to find a people having a keener sense of color values in their artistic combinations in clothing and the household arts.¹ Burmese women have an uncanny sense of loveliness and propriety in the choice of pastel shades for their clothing of sheer silk. This knowledge is widespread, and except among the laboring classes it will be encountered in jungle villages as well as among the more sophisticated residents of Rangoon and Mandalay.

Artistic ability may appear in most unexpected places—a Burmese cook in his spare time may produce a passable sketch of the man of the house, or he may do creditable landscapes. Burmese artists have won favorable mention at home and abroad with their productions. The most famous living Burmese artist is U Ba Nyan. A typical Burmese painting by Saya Chone is found in Scott O'Connor's *The Silken East*, while Saya Tun Hla's sketches in the modern manner have appeared in various periodicals relating to Burma.² Traditional Burmese painting, now all too rare, gives meticulous attention to detail and design rather than to realism. Some Burmese paintings resemble an architect's drawing in colors. The older Burmese artists made no attempt to excel in portrait work, their best efforts being expressions of religious traditions, palace scenes in the days of the Burmese kings, and modern subjects. Fan and screen painting and glass mosaic work which flourished

¹ Lucien Scherman, *Im Stromgebiet des Irrawaddy: Birma und Seine Frauennutz* (Munich, 1922), is a careful analysis of domestic arts.

² H. F. Knapp, ed., *The Annual of the East* (London, 1933), has samples of U Tun Hla's work.

until the deposition of Theebaw are now almost forgotten arts.

Upper Burma pagodas and adjacent buildings occasionally contain rare examples of old Burmese religious art depicting the rewards of *neikban* (heaven) or *ngayai* (hell). The tortures of the unworthy are depicted with startling vividness. However, painting does not have a prominent place in Burmese religious structures. Water color sketches of scenes from the life of the Buddha occasionally are prepared for the funeral of a famed *pongyi*. It is undoubtedly correct to say that traditional Burmese painting is declining because of the urge to imitate Western art. Painting of Burmese umbrellas and sunshades remains in many cases a real art. Bassein is the home of the most skillful painters in this craft.

Burmese craftsmen excel in working statuettes in ivory, bronze, silver, and stone. Ivory carving may take the form of carving the entire tusk with relief figures from Burmese history, mythology, or religion.³ Recently some superior work in ivory carving which appeals to Occidental tastes has been produced. Seldom in sculpture or in their paintings do Burmese artists depict the nude figure; to do so would offend the national sense of modesty and propriety. The National Archives in Washington, D. C., contain an ivory tube made from a single tusk, eighteen inches long and nine inches in diameter, with a carved top in which King Mindon of Burma sent a state letter to President Buchanan in 1857. The British Museum and other collections in Great Britain contain excellent examples of old Burmese art.

Burmese silverware takes the form of drinking bowls, flower or offering bowls, small ornamental caskets, and more recently silverware copied after European models. The ornamentation consists almost exclusively of relief figures or floral design.⁴ The best collections of old silver are seen in the courts of the Shan *sawbwas*. Burmese bronze work consists of small figures of *chinthas* (the mythical Burmese lion), buffaloes, tigers, or other animals, seldom more than twelve inches in height. The casting of Buddhist images is a separate art and is perhaps the one Burmese craft that has persisted through the centuries with little change. The author has a brass image of Buddha that

³ H. S. Pratt, *Monograph on Ivory Carving in Burma* (Rangoon, 1901). H. L. Tilly, *Glass Mosaics of Burma* (Rangoon, 1901), describes a vanishing art.

⁴ H. L. Tilly, *Modern Burmese Silver Work* (Rangoon, 1904).

dates from perhaps the sixteenth century, and because of the extreme traditionalism of Burmese religious figures, it is essentially identical with modern castings. Two of the finest examples of modern Burmese bronze work are the five-foot bronze lions (*chinthas*) which stand before Convocation Hall at Rangoon University. They were cast by the Tampawaddi Gong Makers' Cooperative Society, Mandalay. The world's largest undamaged bell is at Mingun, where it was cast by Burmese workmen in 1795 while Symes was in Ava. It is twelve feet high, sixteen feet three inches in diameter at the lip, and weighs eighty tons. The Burmese do not produce brasswork that compares in variety and quality with the products of India or Persia; nor do they equal the bronze and pewterwork of China.

The carving of wood and stone images of Buddha is a Burmese art that continues to flourish. The craft is centered in Mandalay and vicinity where the alabaster of Sagyin is considered particularly suitable. In the Kemmendine and Ahlone districts of Rangoon many Burmese craftsmen produce carved teak figures of Gautama. Rangoon is also the home of other wood-carvers who do superior work making elephants, trays, tables and chairs, lamps and other objects for European trade. Formerly village *kyaungs* contained many beautiful examples of Burmese wood carving, but the modern *kyaung* is likely to be severely plain.⁵

Perhaps the most distinctive native art of Burma is its lacquer work; in pre-European times it was produced entirely for its utilitarian value. It took the place of glassware and chinaware in Burmese homes. Likewise it filled a useful office in religion; the *pongyi's thabeit* (alms-bowl) is made of lacquer as are also the vessels in which the villagers present offerings to the pagodas. The center of lacquer work is ancient Pagan, on the Irrawaddy. Here are found the best lacquer workers of modern Burma. The lac used is imported from the Shan hills where the secretion of the lac insects is collected from low trees. The best lacquer bowls and cups with thin and flexible sides are built up on a base of horsehair; but this type of work is rare and usually the foundation is of bamboo canework. In addition to the common varieties of lacquer work prepared for the Burmese trade, Rangoon bazaars contain artistic examples of lacquer work

⁵ O'Connor, *The Silken East, etc.*, contains illustrations of religious ornamentation in carved teak. The library of the University of Redlands in California has a rare example of applique tapestry from some upper Burma *kyaung*.

made for the foreign trade. Delicately shaded and embossed with gold leaf, superior lacquer work is no mean art. Keng Tung in the Southern Shan States produces a distinctive lacquer and gold ware with relief figures, the whole prepared and seasoned underground.

Every large Burmese village has its *padeinsaya* or goldsmith. Gold ornaments, which are seldom worn by Burmese men, are dear to the feminine heart. Rings, bracelets, aingyee buttons, necklaces, lockets, hair ornaments of solid gold, are as common as the wealth of the village will permit. It is not unusual to see Burmese youngsters playing in the villages stark naked except for a gold coin hanging about the neck. Rubies and jade are the favorite stones in jewelry. An average Burmese village has in it more genuine gold and jewels than has the chance American town of similar size in the Middle West. The art of cutting and polishing precious stones is well understood by Burmese, Chinese, and Indian craftsmen who work in little shops at Mogok and other centers of the gem trade. The bartering and weighing of precious and semi-precious stones in the open market can be seen any bazaar day in Mogok, a sight rarely observed anywhere else in the world. India and Burma have exported huge quantities of gold treasure to Western markets since 1929, to the great advantage of their governments.

Burmese silk weaving is an ancient art, now declining but fostered by the Saunders Weaving Institute at Amarapura, a former capital of Burma. Formerly the royal court provided a ready market for superior silk work; but the court is no more, Mandalay is no longer a wealthy city, styles change, and the cheaper machine products of Japanese and Indian textile mills tend to oust the native product. Many Burmese women continue to weave at home on looms set up under their houses, but the practice is losing in popularity. The Shans and Karens of the hills still do much hand weaving of clothing, blankets, and bags. Upper Burma is the home of such hand weaving as survives. Hanza, fifty miles south of Mandalay, is the centre of the industry. In this area, not well suited to cultivation, perhaps a thousand Burmese families gain their livelihood by weaving *saungs kins* (Burmese blankets and spreads), longyis, netting, and other fabrics for Burmese use.⁶ No Burmese fabrics are ex-

⁶ A total of some 200,000 villagers throughout the entire income by hand weaving.

ported, and few are produced for European wear. Native paper of considerable strength is produced for local use in the Shan States.

Burmese blacksmiths make plows, forks, sickles, hoes, and other implements and are skillful in copying imported metal-work of any sort. They excel in the production of the long Burmese *dah* (sword). No one may carry a *dah* without license, as the long sword figures frequently in rural crimes. The law is not applied to the ordinary *dah*, which is the Burman's tool-of-all-work. The most beautiful examples of silver-inlaid *dahs* in elaborately decorated scabbards are from villages in the Pyawbwe area of upper Burma. In normal times British, Belgian, or German iron is imported for sale in the upcountry bazaars. The author has a serviceable cap-and-ball pistol which was copied ingeniously in 1934 from a nineteenth-century French pistol; both the original and the copy were purchased for a nominal sum in Mongnai State in the Shan hills.

Pottery, believed to have been introduced from China, is in use in every Burmese village as waterpots, cooking vessels, and as storage places for various articles of food. Twante, not far from Rangoon, and Singu near Mandalay are famous for their pottery. When Europeans first came to Burma they made frequent mention of Pegu jars or "Martabans," the jars made in lower Burma and holding as much as 150 gallons. They are used for storing rice and other food, for preparing *ngapi*, and for holding water for domestic use. Mong Kung in the Shan States is famous for its glazed pottery and for its black ware. Native pottery is to a degree being replaced by imported utensils of aluminum or other metal. Some excellent modern crockery, chinaware, and pottery are produced in Burma by European methods; samples are seen at the annual exhibition of arts and crafts in Rangoon. There is also a factory near Thaton which produces superior firebrick from Burma clay.

In general, native arts and crafts are on the decline. New uses for leisure, improved transportation, village inertia and improvidence, importation of cheaper machine-made products of the West, changing fashions, and a desire to have the imported article are all factors that have done the native craftsman no good. Chinese and Indian immigrants have practically a monopoly on the slipper and shoe industry. Likewise, the immigrants do most of the carpenter work and furniture making.

The Burman is a good workman in cement and brick, having had centuries of experience in building pagodas of these materials. But it is only in upper Burma that Burmese masons are readily available. Nearly all of the modern buildings in Rangoon were erected by Indian and Chinese workmen. The Burman holds his own as a cart maker; his wife and daughters control the cheroot industry, which is essentially a cottage craft. In the delta many native-made boats continue to operate, but a Burmese craft of any great size on the Irrawaddy is now a rare sight. There is little of the specialized village or home production that characterizes Japanese industry.⁷ U Tin Gyi, Superintendent of Cottage Industries in Burma, publicly lamented Burma's backwardness in decentralized industry suitable for home occupations as compared with Japan's advanced position in this respect.⁸ The making of sieves, trays, baskets from bamboo, kites, fire balloons, bows, musical instruments, soap, toys and notions survive as considerable cottage industries, but always as subsidiary industries and seldom on a commercial basis. Industrialism has severely hampered Burmese native handiwork, despite the efforts of the Government to sponsor it through the activities of the Provincial Arts Officer and the holding of an annual Arts and Crafts Exhibition in Rangoon.

MUSICAL AND DRAMATIC ART

Burmese music, while not particularly pleasing to foreign ears, has a charm and quality all its own, but it is being subjected to Western influence. Burmese vocalists develop a tonal quality that to Western critics sounds metallic and forced, but they are capable of executing without a break the brilliant vocal

⁷ In a speech before the Rangoon Rotary Club, U Khin Maung, a Government textile expert, enumerated the following leading cottage industries as reported in the Rangoon Gazette, October 5, 1936:

<i>Industry</i>	<i>Persons Engaged</i>
Lacquer work	66,462
Silk weaving	45,908
Cigars and Cheroots.....	24,296
Gold and silversmiths.....	21,680
Pottery	12,454
Sandals and slippers.....	8,394
Umbrellas and hats.....	6,212
Rope making	2,733

In addition he reported 61,137 whole-time and 219,633 part-time hand loom weavers of cotton.

⁸ Rangoon Gazette, August 16, 1937.

gymnastics common to the Burmese musical play. The traditional Burmese instruments, such as their counterpart of the xylophone and their arrangement of gongs and bells of graduated tones, have been added to by importation of the saxophone, violin, and native adaptations of instruments which would add volume and variety to any dance orchestra. The plaintive tones of the native flute, the crystal-clear music of some other Burmese solo instruments, and the liquid tones of Burmese pastoral lyrics as often heard through the night linger more pleasantly in the memory of a foreigner than do the harsh clashes of the typical orchestra. The Burma Research Society in 1940 made a small grant to U Khin Zaw for research in Burmese music. Later in the year he rewarded the sponsors by producing the most scholarly, but entertaining, account of the Burmese music that has yet appeared. U Khin Zaw's paper included numerous examples of unchanged Burmese melodies as well as adaptations of indigenous compositions for use with the violin, oboe, and piano.⁹

Inasmuch as Burmese dramatic art has been the subject of a recent definitive study,¹⁰ only its general features will be mentioned here. The Burmese people are devoted to drama and theatricals of all types. Much of the older Burmese drama ranks with literature of other nations. Burmese cinema houses are certain to have customers, particularly when Burmese productions are shown. Burmese also crowd theaters which show the latest Hollywood productions. The younger generation in the cities appears more attracted to melodrama in the modern manner than to the traditional *payapiwe* and *zatpiwe* of Burmese drama. Burmese musical shows and posture dancing, interspersed with the antics of the Burmese clown or the triumphs of the hero and heroine, make the *anyein piwe* sufficiently attractive to keep huge crowds awake most of the night. Entire families turn out with their mats and pillows for an evening of fun watching the *ayoke piwe*, the marionette shows at which the Burmese are particularly skillful. Burmese puppets are about two and one-half feet high and are worked by strings from above instead of by sticks from below, as in China. One of the most popular of modern Burmans is the great U Po Sein, whose

⁹ U Khin Zaw, "Burmese Music: A Preliminary Enquiry," JBRS, XXX (1943), 387-466.

¹⁰ Maung Htin Aung, *Burmese Drama: A Study with Translations of Entertainments* (London, 1937). This work gives a valuable insight into Burmese life.

theatrical troupe is in constant demand. Phonograph recordings by his popular singers find a ready market. The state broadcasting station in Rangoon devotes a portion of each day to transmission of popular Burmese songs of the moment. A Burmese movie produced in Japan made box-office history in Burma in 1936. From 1914 to 1918 there was a series of Burmese plays, fiction, and *payazats* so offensive to the public sense of decency that action was taken against their authors.¹¹

Historically, Burmese dramatics owe much to Siamese and Cambodian models. The Siamese court romances and plays became popular after the attack on Ayuthia in 1767, and became the basis for much popular drama and literature. The great names in Burmese dramatic arts are U Kyin U, who wrote immediately after the first Anglo-Burmese War; U Pon Nya, a realistic dramatist and poet of considerable power who lost his life in 1866 because of his connection with the rebellion of the Myingun Prince; and U Awbatha, the pious monk of Minbu who popularized the ten great Jatakas by putting them into language understood by the masses. Refinements in stage technique reached Burma in the present century. Footlights, colored spotlights, curtains, scenery in numerous ingenious adaptations appeared in theaters in Rangoon and Mandalay. The modern stars Aungbala, Sein Kadon, and U Po Sein took advantage of numerous techniques from Hollywood. Po Sein danced with small electric bulbs gleaming everywhere on his costume, and he hired two British ex-soldiers to guard him with rifles and fixed bayonets while he was acting on the stage. He first made actors a respectable class in Burma, and in 1919 was given a title of honor and a decoration by the Government of Burma. He is the most honored of living Burmese dramatic figures.

THE CINEMA

Attendance at motion picture theaters is undoubtedly the most popular amusement in urban Burma. Although the Burmese are fond of their own productions, they regularly attend cinemas that show imported films. This is true particularly in cosmopolitan Rangoon where all communities show a decided

¹¹ *Report of the Provincial Enquiry Committee on Vernacular and Vocational Education* (Rangoon, 1936), 263-5, cited hereinafter as the *Campbell Report*. The standard account of Burmese drama, in Sir William Ridgeway, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (Cambridge, 1915), 228-62, 387-94, is reviewed in Maung Htin Aung, *op. cit.*, 24, 25.

preference for American and British productions, with Indian feature and dialogue films running a poor second.¹²

The importation of films is subject to license and censorship. The theory and machinery of censorship in Burma remained unchanged during the decade 1930-40. The Board of Censors, which is invested with wide powers, is guided by the following general principles: no motion picture may be exhibited which displays disrespect of royalty or of the British aristocracy or harshness of Government officials, indecency, drunkenness, successful crime, disrespect of the religion of the population, ridicule of foreign countries, or scenes likely to create political unrest or public disturbances. In 1940 one Japanese film, "After the Fall of Hankow," in two reels was rejected by the Board of Censors under order from the local Government; two Chinese pictures, "The Struggle at Paoshan" and "The China Today," suffered a similar fate. Another Chinese film, "Street Angel," was passed with the provision that two bedroom scenes (about eighty-five feet) be deleted.

Formerly all sound films in the English language displayed in Burma were imported through India after having been exhibited in that country, or as extra prints for simultaneous release in Burma. During 1940, however, direct importations were made. Up to the end of October 1940, some thirty-seven English language films had been directly imported into Burma, comprising ten American feature films and two American and twenty-five British topical films, thus necessitating complete review by the Burma Board of Censors. Films imported from India—which still constitute the great majority of those shown locally—under the temporary arrangement made pending a new permanent agreement to replace the customs agreement between Burma and India which expired on March 31, 1940, continue to enter Burma free of duty. As a general rule the Board of Censors of Burma accepts without review films passed by censors in India, but reserves the right, seldom exercised, to pass judgment upon such films.

The annual market requirements in Burma average about 480 feature films, with dialogue in the English language; 120 Indian feature films; and 24 to 26 Burmese feature films. A small

¹²The motion picture industry in Burma is surveyed annually in Part 3 of the *Industrial Reference Service* of the U. S. Department of Commerce. Much of the data herein is from the issue of February 1941.

demand for Chinese feature films (around six per annum) has developed.

Burmese films do not compete with English or American films, since they are exhibited to different classes of the population. Of the English language sound pictures shown in Burma, eighty per cent are made by American companies, and eighteen per cent by British companies.

The annual net income from sound films in Occidental languages was estimated at Rs. 475,000 (\$142,500) for 1940, a considerable rise from the figure of Rs. 300,000 (\$90,000) estimated for the previous year.

For the period between January 1, 1940, and September 30, 1940, a total of 63 Burmese motion pictures of all types were produced. These included 22 silent and 5 sound feature films; 3 silent and 1 sound topical films; and 27 silent pictures taken by amateurs with 16 or 8 millimeter film. Production facilities continue to be limited, and only indoor scenes are produced in local studios. Outdoor scenes are taken in natural surroundings. The Burmese film industry, on the whole, is not well financed. Only two producing companies have adequate financial backing for the work which they undertake. Concerns are organized from time to time but usually are obliged for financial reasons to retire from business after short periods of operation.

Both silent and sound films in the Burmese language are produced in Burma. The production cost of silent film is from Rs. 13,000 (\$3,900) to Rs. 15,000 (\$4,500), and of a sound film from Rs. 35,000 (\$10,500) to Rs. 38,000 (\$11,400). Production technique is primitive compared with American methods. There is no objection to American films being "dubbed," in the native language, but films are not "dubbed," because they are shown only to English-speaking audiences. The Government of Burma does not subsidize or lend any financial support to the motion-picture industry. The total investment in the local industry is estimated at from Rs. 700,000 to 800,000 (\$210,000 to \$240,000). Of this amount from Rs. 500,000 to 600,000 (\$150,000 to \$180,000) is invested in production.

No amusement taxes were levied in Burma upon the motion-picture industry, upon theaters, or upon the sale of tickets. Films imported into Burma from countries other than India are dutiable at the rate of 37½ per cent. While exchange has been strictly regulated, due to the war, sufficient is usually made

available for the importation of motion pictures. Motion-picture importations are not subject to quota and so far as can be ascertained no new legislation is contemplated that would discriminate against or limit the importation of American films.

In 1940 the total number of motion-picture theaters in Burma was 137, of which 16 were in Rangoon. Of these 16, there were 6 that displayed only American or European pictures. The total seating capacity of theaters in Burma is about 102,550. Theaters are usually filled to capacity only on Saturday nights, and occasionally on Sunday nights. The average admission price is slightly above 8 annas (about \$0.15), the maximum being Rs. 2 (\$0.60) and the minimum 2 annas (\$0.0375). Annual box office receipts in all theaters in Burma exhibiting American and European films have risen to an estimated Rs. 996,000 (\$298,800); Rs. 500,000 (\$150,000) for Indian films; and Rs. 240,000 (\$72,000) for Burmese films.

Some 181 halls are licensed in Burma to exhibit motion pictures, but of these only 137 operate regularly. The others, located chiefly in outlying districts, are available for use by occasional exhibitors. Of the 137 theaters which exhibit regularly, 57 are permanently wired for sound, 16 being in Rangoon. The others sometimes show "talkies" as the opportunity arises, obtaining portable machines on hire from local producers or distributors.

The Government of Burma maintained two cinema trucks which traveled throughout the country exhibiting educational films; the plan to erect a state-owned movie house in Rangoon to show similar films has not yet materialized. Educational films are also shown at the University of Rangoon in connection with certain courses of study.

EDUCATION

Prior to the separation from India on April 1, 1937, education in Burma was influenced greatly by the policies of the Government of India. The idea of general education in India first was advanced during the discussions over the renewal of the Company's charter in 1833. Previously the missionary and philanthropic schools of Carey, Marshman, Ward, and David Hare (a Calcutta watchmaker) in India, and of the Judsons in Burma had opened the door for Western education in South Asia. As early as 1813 the East India Company had given a grant of one lakh of rupees for education, but the general attitude of



A Burmese boat, of the type which is home to thousands of families, sails along the Irrawaddy.



Scenes of destruction on battlefield at Myitkyina, Burma.

Europeans in India was not favorable to native education. The historian Macaulay, first-appointed member of the Governor-General's Council, wrote his famous Minute on Education in 1835. Macaulay denied the existence of Oriental culture, committed India to a system of English education, and gave rise to the Oriental-Occidental controversy in education in Great Britain's empire in the East. His view was that "...it is possible to make good English scholars out of the natives of this country, and to this end our efforts ought to be directed." This philosophy of education set the goals for English education in the Orient and still exercises vast influence in India and Burma to-day.

In reaching this decision, Macaulay was guided by the utilitarian value of English; the Company needed clerks. He believed, mistakenly, that the spread of English would result in the conversion of Orientals to Christianity. The result of Macaulay's policy as seen today is that education on Western lines is often a foreign plant that yields but scanty harvest for the peoples of Burma and India. The aim of a majority of high school students is to secure a clerkship in Government service where little labor with the hands is required. There are many who believe that the introduction of English into Burma has created rather than solved problems. Macaulay's hope that English education would produce a "class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, in intellect" is a prediction which few Englishmen and fewer Orientals now hope to see realized.

In 1854 Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India and grandfather of the present Lord Halifax, issued his great Despatch on Education which provided for vernacular education in the villages, established elementary and high schools, and began a system of universities. In consequence of the Despatch, the first Director of Public Instruction for Burma was appointed in 1866, before which time the Chief Commissioner had personally fostered education and had planned to build the educational structure in Burma around the monastic schools that are found in every village.¹³ But educational development was slow; elementary and secondary education became common only after the Annexation of 1886, and Burma's university was not established until the second decade of the

¹³ Fytche, *op. cit.*, II, 206-7.

present century. Before the establishment of Rangoon University, Burmans who sought advanced education received it at Government College or Judson College, which were then affiliated with Calcutta University, whose examinations were held in Rangoon. In rare cases Burmans went to India or even farther to England, America, or the Continent.

Two questions remain unsettled after more than a century of Government and private education in Burma. The first is that of coeducation. While anything approaching a nation-wide system of coeducation is out of the question in India today, in Burma where social conditions approximate those of Western countries coeducation is common in all stages from primary grades through the university. The problem of coeducation in Burma is being solved by the almost universal practice of sending boys and girls to the same elementary schools, with the exception of monastic schools which will not generally admit girls. While coeducation in secondary schools is quite common, Burmese parents in every large town have the choice of sending their daughters to coeducational schools or to mission or national girls' schools. There is not a city of more than 5,000 people in Burma which is not provided with both girls' schools and coeducational schools. In addition there are numerous schools that admit boys only. This situation is responsible for considerable duplication of effort and funds, to the annoyance of taxpayers, but is evidence of the conservative tendencies of many Burmese parents. Further duplication of effort and expense results from the numerous schools for children of special immigrant groups or religions, most of which enjoy state grants-in-aid. The present trend, however, is undoubtedly toward coeducation, despite the report of the Vernacular and Vocational Reorganization Committee which came out against coeducation except in the university level.

The second unsettled problem is whether instruction shall be given in Burmese or English. Burma from 1931 until 1937 was the only province in the Indian Empire which provided public education through the high school in the vernacular of the people. The rate of growth of Burmese, Karen, Shan, and Chin education in Burma is determined largely by the ability of the people themselves to overcome the present paucity of books in their languages in mathematics, chemistry, and the natural and social sciences. Since 1926 the Government of Burma

has awarded an annual prize of Rs. 1,000 for the best textbook in Burmese.¹⁴ In addition, Rangoon University awards annually the Prince of Wales Prize for an original contribution in Burmese or a translation of exceptional merit from an English work.

Few critics of education in Burma have denied the desirability and necessity of continuing the use of English in all higher schools. Graduate work in the arts and sciences, particularly medicine and engineering, is almost entirely dependent upon the use of English and will be so for decades. As more people have gained a knowledge of English, the demand for it has grown until it is now a rare village that does not contain someone with a fair knowledge of it. The author has been in villages from Namkham to Moulmein and almost invariably, regardless of the language spoken in the village, someone would appear, ready to oblige with his knowledge of English.

Buddhism provides Burma with its indigenous school system. Nearly every Burmese son spends some time under the palm trees bathed in the drowsy influence of one of the 20,000 monastic schools found usually near some tinkling pagoda. Some remain in school only a few days; others wear the yellow robes during a lifetime. Here the novitiate is given a rudimentary knowledge of the Burmese language and literature gained from a study of the *Thinbongyi* (great basket of learning) and the oral repetition of Burmese letters, religious principles, and lauds of the Buddha. Those who remain frequently become learned Pali scholars. The great service rendered to education by the *kyaungs* is their part in the reduction of illiteracy. Today Burma has the highest percentage of literacy among the continental nations east of Suez, Japan alone excelled. While the ability to read and write is general on the plains of Burma, the quality of the literacy is somewhat disappointing; many lapse into illiteracy. Of all the children who enrolled in primary schools in 1930-31, only eighteen per cent completed the fourth standard four years later.¹⁵

In addition to the monastic schools which are really her own, Burma has three imported systems of education: the secular vernacular, the Anglo-vernacular, and the English schools. The

¹⁴ The prize for 1936, for example, went to U Po Thon for his *A First Course in Geometry* (Rangoon, 1935). *Rangoon Gazette*, March 9, 1936.

¹⁵ *Campbell Report*, 151.

present tendency is toward a merger of vernacular and Anglo-vernacular schools. The English schools and the better Anglo-vernacular high schools feed the university. There were 5,582 recognized vernacular schools in the colony in 1935; of these, 5,440 were privately owned, a feature of Burmese education strongly disapproved of by the Campbell Committee.¹⁶ Although Burmese education is available through high school, vernacular high schools are the least popular in the colony. They have been criticized as lifeless, leading nowhere except to the vernacular teaching profession. Graduates of vernacular high schools are not well fitted for university work as instruction there is conducted in English. The same general criticism is true of Anglo-vernacular high schools. However, graduates of Anglo-vernacular schools who do well in the provincial examinations are certified for matriculation at Rangoon University; in fact most of the students in the University enter from Anglo-vernacular high schools. The University Senate in July 1940 resolved to admit to its examination for the B.A. degree well-qualified candidates (usually teachers) who have not taken resident instruction in the University. The new policy went into effect in March 1941.¹⁷

English schools in Burma were provided originally to train subordinates for the public service. Other English schools were established primarily for students whose mother tongue was English. These schools have lost many of their former distinctions and today accept students from all communities. In 1930 Burmese, Indian, and Chinese students made up 35.6 per cent of the total enrollment in English schools.¹⁸ Meantime, with the extension of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to Burma in 1921, the separate inspectorate for European schools was abolished, partly in response to Burmese nationalist agitation.¹⁹ English high schools, particularly the Government English High School in Maymyo and the Diocesan Boys' and Girls' High Schools in Rangoon, remain the most popular secondary schools in the province, and they are the most efficiently administered.

Schools in Burma have one common characteristic: nearly all of them charge tuition fees on a graduated scale up to about

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 286.

¹⁷ *Rangoon Gazette*, July 15, 1940. At first the concession applied only to teachers.

¹⁸ *Proceedings of the Burma Round Table Conference*, Cmd. 4001/1932, 42.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

Rs. 7/8 per month for high school. There is little English or Anglo-vernacular schooling available without cost anywhere in the country; and there are no laws that are being enforced to compel anyone to attend school. Despite the lack of these incentives, there are approximately 750,000 pupils in all registered and unregistered schools in Burma; these are in addition to the numbers in unrecognized monastic schools. However, there are some 1,250,000 children between the ages of six and eleven who are not in any school.²⁰

Educational control and inspection in Burma is highly centralized and efficient. All registered schools are subject to supervision by the Director of Public Instruction through his staff of inspectors. Examinations for the entire Province are prepared by a committee appointed by the Director and given throughout Burma on the same day. The results are announced in the press, and forty per cent of those who pass the high school finals go on to the university. However, only about 25 per cent of those who tried the high school finals got over the hurdle. The standard of accomplishment reached by students in English and Anglo-vernacular schools compares favorably with that achieved in other countries. Central authorities control English and Anglo-vernacular schools, and the university; monastic schools are subject to little control by anyone other than the local abbot; vernacular schools are controlled by local authorities.

Within the past decade, education in Burma and India has been investigated by numerous parliamentary inquiry committees such as the Hartog Committee, the Linlithgow Commission on Agriculture, and the Simon Commission, and there is no scarcity of materials on education in the old Indian Empire of which Burma was formerly a part. The Government of Burma, having had its attention called to educational problems by these committees which studied education either alone or in conjunction with other investigations, became increasingly aware of the urgent need for co-ordination and synthesis in education. Members of the Buddhist order consider themselves above all advice and cannot be compelled to modernize their educational methods. The vernacular schools, despite the fact that they are the ultimate hope for the masses in the villages, are out of favor because their graduates cannot readily enter the university. The English and Anglo-vernacular systems place

²⁰ *Campbell Report*, 150.

great emphasis upon examinations, and their teachers are subordinated to textbooks and syllabi. Education has produced a "silk longyi complex"²¹ (the equivalent of the "white collar complex") and has become a dreary pursuit of degrees and certificates. There is a growing realization that education has been too little related to agriculture and the daily life of the nation and that it must be adjusted to the expanding needs of a rising people.

Consequently, in 1934 the Government appointed a representative group from all classes in Burma, known as the Campbell Committee, to survey the educational scene in Burma and make recommendations for its overhauling. Its report, published in 1936 and now in process of adoption, would have all schools follow the same course of study from standard one to nine, when the average pupil reaches the age of fifteen.²² At this point a division is proposed between those who wish to enter vocational and handicraft schools and those who proceed to the university. Those who elect the university will spend three years in pre-university schools with special emphasis upon English. All schools will introduce English as a second language from the fourth standard, and non-Burmese pupils, as at present, will be required to have a knowledge of Burmese before entering the university. Sharp changes in curricula are being made. Some exceptions in language requirements are in prospect for the schools established by the various racial and religious groups in Burma, but all students will be required to have some instruction in Burmese.

The Campbell Report disapproved of compulsory education on the ground of its great cost. Rather it proposed the adoption of compulsory attendance through middle school of students who enter the first standard voluntarily. This policy has been in force in certain Rangoon municipal schools since 1932 in an attempt to solve the acute problem of wastage. In many cases parents regard the primary school as a convenient place for the child until he becomes useful about the home.

Rangoon University, incorporated in 1920 from a nucleus of two colleges formerly affiliated with Calcutta University, is the apex of Burma's educational system. At present the university has five constituent colleges, three of them grouped on

²¹ J. R. Andrus, *Rural Reconstruction in Burma* (Madras, 1936), 6.

²² *Campbell Report*, cit.

the magnificent university estate of four hundred acres five miles from the center of Rangoon. Unrivalled for beauty in South Asia, the estate has its own public utilities, a convocation hall that would do credit to any institution, beautiful playing fields and a considerable frontage on Victoria Lake for water sports. The lecture halls, libraries, and residence halls are modern in every respect. The cost of the estate and buildings was about \$3,500,000, and building construction extended over six years. During 1927 the university was endowed with Rs. 50 lakhs (U.S. \$2,000,000) in gifts from the country's leading Burmese, Chinese, Indian and European residents. Three-fourths of the annual expenses of the university are met by subventions from the Government of Burma, the remainder from student fees. Some two hundred degrees are awarded annually in March.

University College, the largest unit, is the outgrowth of Rangoon College, which was established in 1885 and known from 1904 to 1920 as Government College. It prepares students for degrees in arts and sciences, including forestry and law. The present Principal of University College is U Pe Maung Tin, who was appointed in 1936 as the first Burman to hold the post.²³ Associated with University College is the Burmah Oil Company College of Mining and Engineering, endowed by that company with \$500,000. The second unit of the university is Judson College, managed by the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society as the only Christian school of collegiate rank in Burma. It is well known for its sound but progressive administration and has been less disturbed by student nationalist agitation than has University College. There is in addition the Training College for Teachers, also in charge of a Burmese Principal. The Medical College, established in 1930 near the heart of Rangoon, has a wealth of clinical material in the adjoining Rangoon General Hospital with 540 beds and the Dufferin Maternity Hospital with 250 beds, both government institutions. Rangoon University, including the Intermediate College, Mandalay, has more than 2,500 students, nearly one-fourth of whom are women.²⁴ During the first two decades of its history the university granted more than 2,500 degrees. The Agricultural College, Mandalay, was forced to close its doors for

²³ Rangoon Gazette, March 23, 1936. Likewise, U Tin Tut, I.C.S., was in 1940 the first Burman to serve as Chancellor of Rangoon University. *Infra*, 188.

²⁴ Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36, 124.

lack of students when it became known that recruitment for posts in the Agricultural Department had ceased.²⁵ There are Government normal schools in Akyab, Moulmein, and Mandalay in addition to four Government-aided teacher training schools under mission auspices.

In addition to the regular schools throughout Burma, the country has a considerable number of special schools under Government control. Among these should be mentioned the Government Technical Institute at Insein, which operates an evening school for employees in the adjacent railway shops; the Survey School at Shwebo with some fifty students per year qualified for service with the Land Records Department, settlement work, or the Survey of India; the Saunders Weaving Institute at Amarapura, center of the old silk weaving industry; the Government Lacquer School in Pagan with approximately fifty students; a Forestry School at Pyinmina; the Borstal Training School for juvenile delinquents at Thayetmyo; a Public Health School in connection with the Harcourt Butler Institute of Public Health, Rangoon; a school for veterinarians at Insein; nursing schools in the Dufferin and other large Government hospitals. In addition, the two hospitals of the American Baptist Mission operate nurses' training schools; the Mission to the Blind manages two schools for those so handicapped, and there is a privately managed school for the deaf. Mandalay had an excellent Anglican hospital, which trained nurses in Burmese. Since the separation of Burma from India, a State Polytechnic School and a State School for Fine Arts have been opened in Rangoon with the special object of promoting native arts and crafts and the adaptation of foreign cultural and industrial development to the needs of the country. At Taunggyi there is a special school patterned roughly after the British Public Schools for training sons of the Shan chiefs.

A number of private commercial schools are flourishing in Rangoon and their students take the examinations for licentiates under the various British examining associations in commercial education. Likewise, music students in Burma take the examinations offered by Trinity College of Music and the London College of Music. State scholarships are offered each year for advanced education in British or Continental institutions.

²⁵ Andrus, *op. cit.*, 29. The Agricultural College has since been re-opened, and became a constituent college of Rangoon University in 1939.

U Tun Nyoe, Education Officer of the Rangoon Municipality, and his wife, Ma Ma Khin, were awarded the first state scholarship for study in the United States; they attended the University of Chicago in 1937-38.²⁶ Burma has an adequate supply of degree and near-degree men in the arts since this course is the easiest way to a degree. University graduates with good records have little difficulty in finding employment; the real problem is the "B. A. failed." But there exists a shortage of Burmans who are competently trained in the professions, crafts, and industries. Few Burmese have adequate training as surgeons. There is a surplus of lawyers, a scarcity of chemists, aviation engineers and mechanics, marine architects, business executives with practical experience and sound training, and trained research workers in the social and natural sciences, and an almost complete absence of Burmese dentists, and industrial and railway engineers. Burmese, however, do well in architecture, as motor mechanics, and in Government service in its numerous branches.

After a century of educational effort in Burma at an expenditure of public funds which has reached Rs. 75,00,000 per annum in recent years, literacy in Burma proper reached 397 per 1,000 of the population in 1931.²⁷ In 1935-36 the total expenditure for education from all sources was Rs. 1,61,33,219, divided under separate heads as below:²⁸

From provincial funds.....	Rs. 50,48,857
School fees	34,65,306
Rural local funds.....	32,90,386
Other sources	24,29,097
Municipal funds	14,89,387
Federated Shan States fund.....	4,10,186

Under the classification "from other sources" is included the amount contributed by individuals, missions, private, communal and national schools. The average expenditure per head of population on education of all types was Rs. 1/1/7 (42 cents), of which Rs. 0/11/2 was from public funds. During the September 1940 session of the Burma Legislature a member pointed out that the average Government expenditure per pupil in the primary schools was Rs. 7.5 in 1935-36, Rs. 8.9 in 1937-38, and had risen only to Rs. 9.2 in 1938-39. He demanded an increase

²⁶ Rangoon Gazette, August 2, 1937. In September 1940, Daw Ma Ma Khin was a successful candidate for the Burma House of Representatives for the vacancy created by the resignation of Dr. Ba Maw.

²⁷ Statistics on literacy among non-Europeans in Burma are given in Appendix V.

²⁸ Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36, 125.

to Rs. 15 per pupil per annum. By contrast, the average cost to the Government per student in the university is about Rs. 800, while it is Rs. 40 in secondary schools. The desire of the country is for a large share of educational funds for the primary schools. At the same time, statistics placed before the Legislature indicated the following grants-in-aid had been made to higher education in Burma:

<i>Institution</i>	<i>1937—38</i>	<i>1938—39</i>	<i>1939—40</i>
University College	5,26,972	5,08,568	5,42,250
Judson College	94,000	94,000	94,000
Teachers' Training College.....	1,43,180	1,80,706	1,75,621
Medical College	1,27,000	1,18,100	88,300
Intermediate College, Mandalay.....	63,810	57,700	56,900
Agricultural College, Mandalay.....	1,47,168	1,69,539	1,84,844

In Rangoon town 820 Burmese men in 1,000 are literate, a figure perhaps not equaled in another Asiatic city of comparable size outside Japan. In the entire country 161,690 men of all races were literate in English at the latest census.²⁹ More than 1,000,000 women in Burma are literate; since literacy is the principal qualification for enfranchisement of women, Sir Laurie Hammond's committee on franchise expected that at least 600,000 women in Burma would pass the simple literacy test. But only 42,069 made the effort to pass the test and vote in the first election under the new constitution in 1937. While the average literacy rate for Burma may seem unfavorable, it is entirely commendable as compared with the rate attained in India and China:³⁰

LITERACY RATE PER 1,000 OF POPULATION

<i>Country</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Average</i>
All Burma	560	165	368
Burma Proper	600	182	397
*Cochin State	460	220	337
Bengal	180	32	110
United Provinces	94	11	55

* The most literate Native State in India.

Bihar and Orissa Provinces in India average a literacy rate of eight per 1,000. Under the reforms of 1919 Burma exceeded any province of India in the size of the electorate based upon literacy.³¹

²⁹ *Census Report*, 1931, 160.

³⁰ *Ibid.* In the Netherlands Indies the literacy rate is about 100 per 1,000; Ceylon has a rate comparable to that of Burma.

³¹ K. T. Shah and Gulestan Bahadurji, eds., *Governance of India* (Bombay, 1921), 224.

Student strikes and walkouts have been distressingly frequent since 1920 in both secondary schools and in Rangoon University. On February 25, 1936, more than 700 students of University and Judson Colleges went on strike as a protest against disciplinary action which had been taken against two student leaders. During 1936 and 1937 there was a rising demand for the amendment of the University Act in order to make possible more direct control of the constituent colleges by political leaders. This movement spread to secondary and elementary schools throughout the country, and soon *pongyis* took active leadership of the movement against the established schools.³² The Government of Burma appointed a commission to examine the University Act and to advise what changes, if any, were desirable. The committee in its report was unable to agree to the student demand that control of the university be "non-officialized."³³ When legislation was adopted in 1939, the commission's recommendations were not accepted, and the institution was faced with the danger that it would fall under the capricious control of political parties to the detriment of its future standing in the academic world. The committee, however, recommended numerous changes in the management of the university, and it urged the establishment of numerous state and local scholarships which would enable more students from the lower half of millstone to attend. Student protest over the high cost of university attendance is best understood when the fee schedule is studied. Rangoon University is of the teaching and residence type rather than the examining type as in the case of Calcutta University. The average cost of board and residence was Rs. 350 per annum in University College, somewhat less in Judson College. Tuition fees vary with the courses pursued, ranging between Rs. 96 and 300 per annum. Thus the total cost of university attendance is not more than \$250 per annum. The most valid criticism of the university is that it touches but slightly the life of the cultivator of the rice fields of Burma, but in this instance public demand is largely at fault; the university has specialized in the liberal arts because these are the courses which most readily prepare for Government service. The common reluctance of graduates to return to their villages or to till

³² *Infra*, 199.

³³ The Rangoon *Gazette Weekly Budget*, May 17, 1937, printed a ten-page summary of the report.

the soil has been commented upon frequently in the Burma Legislature, but this is a situation which is by no means peculiar to Burma alone.

LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

No country in Southeast Asia has a more respected literary heritage than has Burma. There are no considerable collections of Burmese manuscripts outside their country of origin. Great Britain has the largest number; but these are scattered among several depositories, the greatest single collection being the lot presented by Sir Arthur Phayre to the British Museum. American libraries contain sixty Burmese and nearly 150 Burmese Pali manuscripts, some of them rare items in the old Burmese square characters. Most of these manuscripts were collected by Dr. Joseph F. Rock and are in the Burmese-Pali collection of the Library of Congress.³⁴

Despite the fact that paper was not widely used in Burma in pre-European times, thousands of records and literary works have been preserved on stone, on *parabaiks* of black Chinese paper, or on palm-leaf manuscripts inscribed with a steel stylus and read after rubbing them with the finger dipped in oil.³⁵ These cover a wide range of subjects from history, law, medicine, to religion and the practical arts. The majority of the Burmese literary remains antedating the present century deal with religion and government. While the British in Burma have taken steps to preserve Burmese literary traditions and materials, no complete survey of the literary resources of the country has been made. Under the editorship of U Kyaw Dun, the Government of Burma has issued a five-volume anthology of Burmese literature.³⁶ A collection of some 30,000 state documents acquired after the occupation of Mandalay in 1886 are now in the custody of Rangoon University. While some use has been made of these manuscripts, many remain uncatalogued.³⁷ These are in addition to the palace library, the contents of which have been catalogued separately in Burmese.³⁸ We are indebted to the

³⁴ H. I. Poleman, *A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New Haven, 1938), published by the American Oriental Society.

³⁵ For development of Burmese writing see Hanthawaddy U Ba Yin, *Myanmar A Achapyakyan* (Rangoon, 1937).

³⁶ *Anthology of Burmese Literature* (Rangoon, at intervals since 1929). See also Pe Maung Tin, *Burmese Prose Selections* (Oxford, 1935).

³⁷ Ma Mya Sein, *op. cit.*

³⁸ *Catalogue of Pali and Burmese Books and Manuscripts Belonging to the Library*

Government of Burma for preserving the results of Bodawpaya's (1782-1819) revenue inquest. This Burmese Domesday Book is an invaluable source on the condition and resources of Burma at the beginning of the nineteenth century.³⁹

Since the foremost patron of literature and research in Burma is the Burma Research Society, founded in 1910 to study and encourage art, science, literature and history and to promote relations between those of different nationalities in Burma who are interested in the arts and sciences, a brief statement of its activities will describe the efforts being made to advance Burmese knowledge.⁴⁰ The Society's journal publishes articles on Burmese history, archaeology, literature, art, language, philosophy and folklore. Before 1940 the Society published in its Burmese-Pali Text Series forty-two monographs under the editorial direction of U Pe Maung Tin of University College, an orientalist who received part of his training at Oxford. The series, invaluable for students of Further India, covers a wide range of *Pyos*, *Yazawins*, *Wuttus*, in addition to a number of the *Jataka* stories. The Society has been at work for more than ten years on a Burmese dictionary, now being completed in London under the editorship of Dr. J. A. Stewart, aided by a number of Burmese scholars. The fact that the dictionary already contains more than 500,000 references gives some hint of its eventual usefulness. There still remains the problem of preparing an adequate Burmese-Burmese dictionary as well as Burmese-Chin, Burmese-Shan, Burmese-Chinese dictionaries and other linguistic helps. Stewart's dictionary will be Burmese-Burmese as well as Burmese-English; the first part of this monumental work is now (1941) in the press. The only Burmese-Burmese dictionary at present available is U Pye, *Porana Abidan*, which gives modern forms of archaic Burmese. There is a Burmese-Chinese (Fukienese) dictionary. In addition the Society has given assistance and inspiration to European scholars among its own membership in the production of a number of valuable aids to the study of Burma's history and culture. Among them

of the Late King of Burma and Found in the Palace at Mandalay in 1886 (Rangoon, 1921).

³⁹ *Myama Min Okchokpon Sadan* with appendix to King Bodawpaya's *Yazathat Hkaw Ameindaw Tangyi*. Published in five volumes by the Government press (Rangoon, 1900).

⁴⁰ Additional information respecting the Society may be had from the Honorary Secretary, care University, Rangoon.

should be mentioned C. O. Blagden, Charles Duroiselle, B. R. Pearn, G. H. Luce, D. G. E. Hall, J. S. Furnivall, B. R. Langham-Carter, and others who find time to interest themselves in Burma's cultural life in the midst of their own official or Professional duties. Dr. Robert Halliday, a Scottish missionary whose knowledge of the Mon language of southern Burma and western Siam was pre-eminent, has left a permanent monument in his research respecting the Talaing people and their cultural heritage bequeathed to Burma.

No extensive history or critical appraisal of Burmese literature is available, but some beginnings have been made.⁴¹ Modern Burmese literature has turned from the traditional patterns associated with Buddhism and the monarchy toward fiction in the contemporary manner.⁴² Since the modern short story based upon English models made its appearance about 1915, the Government in Burma requires registration of all books, newspapers, and periodicals, making available quite complete information on literary production in Burma; however, it is believed that considerable ephemeral fiction avoids registration. Some contemporary Burmese authors are decidedly prolific. For example U Tin Hla, who under the pseudonym Tet Tun was one of Burma's most popular writers, published more than one hundred novels before his death in 1937 at the age of twenty-eight years. Approximately 30,000 copies of one or two-anna novels are sold each month in Rangoon.⁴³

During the two decades 1914-34, Burmese books numbering 2,214 were published, one-third of them dealing with religion.⁴⁴ Miscellaneous topics from ready reckoners to the mysteries of horse racing and turf winnings accounted for 456 volumes. Fiction books in Burmese numbering 386 were published during the same period. At the same time 1,653 books in languages other than Burmese were printed in Burma; of these 607 were Buddhist works in Burmese-Pali, 150 were in Pali, and 275 in English.⁴⁵ During the present century, many translations of

⁴¹ For a dictionary of Burmese authors before 1900 see JBRS, X, Pt. III (December 1920), 120-54.

⁴² U Thein Maung, *Thadinnu Sayu* (Rangoon, 1937), is a study of the art and history of Burmese journalism written by the editor of *Thacornu* (The Sun), a leading vernacular newspaper.

⁴³ *Campbell Report*, 264.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 262.

⁴⁵ The *Campbell Report* analyzed literary production in Burma during the present

European classics in whole or in abridgment have appeared, beginning with translations of Moliere and Tchekov from English versions. Numerous Shakespearean plays are available in condensed form for Burmese readers: *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello* were translated in 1912 by U Shwe Kyu, a prominent Burmese literary figure, but Shakespeare has not been popular in Burmese. The *Count of Monte Cristo* was published in Burmese in 1900 and shortly thereafter was made into a Burmese play entitled *Maung Yin Maung and Ma Mai Ma* by an unknown Burmese author. In 1925 the Prince of Wales Prize was awarded by Rangoon University to U Ni for his translation of John Locke's *Civil Government*. Certain European, Indian, and Chinese classics are now available in Burmese. Selections from Tagore's poetry, *Aesop's Fables*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Pilgrim's Progress*, and sundry other best sellers from the English world are imposed upon the Burmese high school student, frequently to the neglect of Burmese literature. Published works during the year 1935-36 are classified as follows.⁴⁶

Total registered publications	317
Burmese	187
Pali-Burmese	63
Indian languages	23
English	21
English-Burmese	7
Pali	7
Spaw Karen	7
Kachin	1

More than half of the Burmese books published for the year were fiction, on which the Report commented, "Most of these novels contained a good many references to the debased morals and pornography of the catch-penny novel thus necessitating indication of these ugly passages for deletion."⁴⁷

Within the current decade has appeared the "first modern biography" in Burmese.⁴⁸ There is at present a tendency to produce little Burmese books on a wide variety of subjects, including simple texts in engineering, electricity, scientific agriculture, travel, and similar topics. A number of Burmans have written penetrating comments, not always favorable, upon their visits to Europe, China, and Japan.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Report on Administration of Burma, 1935-36* (Rangoon, 1937), 133-4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ U Maung Maung Tin, *Life of Kinsun Mingyi* (Rangoon, 1936).

⁴⁹ For example, U Su, *Germany Atokepate* (Rangoon, 1928), a young Burmese nationalist's experiences in pre-Hitler Germany.

The appearance of numerous magazines in contemporary Burmese literature is a remarkable development of the past two decades. Some Burmese magazines exceed newspapers in volume of circulation, but many of these periodicals are transitory and ephemeral, composed of fiction interspersed with articles on the trades, vocations, health, home crafts and similar topics. Vivid advertisements in these journals offer the Burmese public a wide range of goods from alchemist's supplies and contraceptives to patent medicines of impossible powers.

Burmese newspapers normally are short lived, and the printing trade is one of the most uncertain in Burma. During 1936 thirty-nine presses went into liquidation while forty-one new presses began operation in the province. "Optimism is the outstanding feature of the local printing industry in Burma."³⁰ At present there are fourteen English and thirteen Burmese newspapers, with others published in Chinese, Karen and assorted languages of India. Many of these publications would not be considered newspapers in Occidental countries. In Rangoon, there are four daily and six weekly or semi-weekly Burmese journals, but this number varies from year to year in response to the mortality of Burmese periodicals. Only one periodical which could properly be called a Burmese newspaper is published in Mandalay, the center of old Burmese culture. Small format, poor printing, inferior paper, sensational and irresponsible editing have characterized the Burmese press. No vernacular newspaper has a paid circulation of more than 20,000 copies. It should be said that the quality of both editorial and mechanical work on Burmese journals is improving. Although Burmese typewriters have been available for more than a decade, they are not in common use. Leading papers are the *Thooreah* (Sun), *Bundoola*, *Dee Dok* (Owl) and *New Light of Burma*. Burmese newspapers and magazines exert a modernizing influence upon the national language, and they contain many ingenious Burmanizations of foreign technical and scientific expressions. Newspaper Burmese is often difficult for Europeans to grasp, due to its shortened spellings, Burmanizing of imported words, and departure from traditional forms in sentence construction. It has, however, one advantage for the beginner: little Pali is used.

Libraries in Burma are in rudimentary state. According to

³⁰ *Administration Report, op. cit.*

the Administration Report of 1936 there were in that year 241 libraries in the Province. Burma has no regular system of village circulating libraries such as is found in the Netherlands Indies.⁵¹ Two small traveling libraries are wholly inadequate, and the annual Government grant of Rs. 15,000 was discontinued in 1931 due to financial stringency. The Rangoon Literary Society has a collection of 10,000 books open to members only. The Bernard Free Library has a valuable collection of nearly 20,000 volumes including numerous Burmese and Pali manuscripts of interest to scholars; it includes also the Kinwun Mingyi's library of Burmese works, and receives a grant from the Government and from the Rangoon Corporation (municipal government). Provision has been made for the establishment of a King George V Memorial Library, to include the Bernard Library, in the new Rangoon Corporation Building. The Library of the Burma Research Society contains 4,000 volumes, many of them of considerable rarity. The libraries of Rangoon University and its constituent colleges contained nearly 100,000 volumes at the beginning of 1941.

Several municipalities have libraries supported in whole or in part by public funds. Certain of the larger towns have literary societies which provide books for members and maintain reading rooms with current literature. Moulmein, Myaungmya, Bassein, Toungoo, and other cities have made creditable beginnings with public libraries. All Buddhist monasteries have collections of the religious classics, once available only in manuscript but now being printed in large numbers. In district headquarters and wherever a group of British officials or businessmen have established the inevitable club, there are collections of books and current magazines for members. Nearly all Burmese towns have a Burmese society of some sort, usually sponsored by the Young Men's Buddhist Association or the National School which provides a reading room with current Burmese newspapers and magazines. Indian and Chinese societies and schools supply similar facilities for their communities.

⁵¹ J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands Indies: A Study in Plural Economy* (London, 1939), 422-3.

CHAPTER XI

RELIGION IN BURMA

Buddhism reached Burma in force from India, where it is now almost a forgotten religion, about 1057 A.D. While not unknown to them before that time, Buddhism was not observed generally by the people of Burma. Authorities agree that animism had been the religion of the country, and that modern Burmese Buddhism has many traces of this old influence. Today Buddhism is almost a universal religion among the Burmese and the Shans, while it has in addition a strong hold upon other sections of the indigenous population. According to the 1931 census, Buddhism was the professed religion of five-sixths of the total population of Burma.¹ To a degree not known in Western lands, it is a one-religion country; 95.32 per cent of all the people in Burma proper are Buddhists,² while among the Shans 99.35 per cent have reported Buddhism as their religion.³

The solidarity of Buddhism is not easily broken, and during the decade 1921-31 there was a reduction in the number of Burmese, Tavoyan and Merguese Christians from 14,611 to 14,596.⁴ In upper Burma only three per cent of the villages have resident Christians; in the Pegu District native Christians are found in thirty per cent of the villages, most of which are Karens. Although the Superintendent of the 1891 Census expressed the belief that Buddhism in Burma is "but a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief," there is no reason to doubt the validity and strength of Buddhism in modern Burma as indicated by the figures on the following page.

Chinese Buddhists are included in the following table. Buddhists, while the figures for animists include Taoists and Confucianists. Although there has been a decline in the proportion of Buddhists to the total population since 1891, this fact is

¹ *Census Report, 1931, cit.*, 206.

² *Ibid.*, 208.

³ *Ibid.*, 212.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 213.

due to the increase in Hindu, Moslem, and Christian immigrants and converts. The Moslems are found almost exclusively among the Arakanese and Indian immigrants and the Yunnanese who have come across the Chinese frontier into upper Burma. There is little proselyting among the Moslems, with respect to members of the Burmese race. Although numerous evidences of Brahmanic practices survived in Burma, as for example in astrology, fortune-telling, and the *ponnas* (Brahmins) who were always kept in the courts of the Burmese kings, a Burman observing modern Hindu rites is almost unknown.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION IN 1931⁵

Religion	Adherents	Number per 1,000
Buddhists	12,348,037	843
Animists	763,243	52
Moslems	584,839	40
Hindus	570,953	39
Christians	331,106	23
Others	49,319	3

Among Hindus the deaths annually exceed births in Burma; in 1931 there were only 333 Hindu females per 1,000 Hindu males,⁶ and it is believed that due to the separation of Burma from India and the rising anti-Indian feeling in Burma the disparity was even greater in 1940. Among Moslems the sex ratio is somewhat more normal, there being 607 Mohammedan females per 1,000 males. There is more intermarriage between Moslems and Burmans than between Hindus and Burmans, and this fact has given rise to a numerous *Zerabadi* population, the term being applied to progeny of Moslem-Burman marriages who usually profess Mohammedanism.⁷ There are some 1,500 Chinese Moslems in Burma, where they are known as Panthays, from Yunnan Province.⁸ More than one-half of the Moslems live in the coastal areas, principally Arakan, where Mohammedanism has long been established as an indigenous religion. More than four fifths of all the Hindus in the Province live in lower Burma south of Prome. Many of them belong to the laboring classes who find employment in the rice and transportation industries; others are merchants, landowners, bankers, petty

⁵ *Ibid.*, 207.⁶ *Ibid.*, 208.⁷ *Ibid.*, 211.⁸ *Ibid.*, 213.

tradesmen, or find employment in Government or domestic service.

Animism is applied loosely to the religion of the less advanced tribes in Burma. There is usually a considerable admixture of Buddhism among these people; likewise spiritism, or *nat* worship, is interwoven intimately with the Buddhism of the countryfolk in Burma proper. A curious combination of the two religions is seen in the *Pau Chin Hau* movement of the Chin Hills.⁹

BUDDHISM

Numerous sympathetic studies of Burmese Buddhism are available,¹⁰ but few objective studies of its social and economic implications for modern Burma are obtainable. While Buddhism in Burma is not a missionary religion, it would not be correct to call it decadent. One has only to travel the length of Burma and visit its remote villages to see electrically lighted pagodas, frequently the only modern lighting in the village, as evidence of its influence over the people. To the Burman, "Buddhist" and "Burmese" are almost synonymous terms; for a Burman to become a Christian is to be charged by his fellows with becoming a "kala," a foreigner. Hinayana Buddhism of Burma is akin to the form observed in Thailand, Cambodia, and Ceylon, as contrasted with the northern Mahayana form of Tibet, China, and Japan. The Hinayana form employs Pali as its sacred language whereas the Mahayana Buddhists conduct the ritual in Sanskrit. Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Thai, and Singhalese Buddhist pilgrims frequently visit Burma. Likewise Burmese monks are met occasionally en route to Calcutta, Gaya, or Ceylon on pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places. Although Buddhist laymen occasionally make pious pilgrimages to Gaya or Ceylon, they do not travel about to visit their shrines as extensively as do natives of India.

Burmese Buddhism has no formal head, no organization of the type usually associated with religious denominations elsewhere. Every village has a monastery, *pongyi kyaung*, presided over by a monk, called *pongyi* (great glory). If the village is

⁹ *Ibid.*, 194, 217.

¹⁰ See Shwey Yoe (Sir George Scott), *op. cit.*, 21-230, and the works of H. L. Ling Hall, *cit.* See also Sir Herbert Thirkell White, *A Civil Servant in Burma* (London, 1913), 163-300. A more critical appraisal is W. C. B. Porter and K. J. Satchell, eds., *Modern Buddhism in Burma* (Rangoon, 1914).

small there may be only one monk; in large cities, such as Mandalay with nearly 20,000 monks, there may be scores of them in a single group of *kyaungs*. Near the *kyaung* is found the village pagoda, a spire of concentric circles of masonry topped by an ornament and vane called a *hti*. The upper part of the pagoda is covered with gold leaf, imported from China. While the shape of pagodas may vary with location and age, the Indian *stupa* is regarded as the traditional pattern. Larger pagodas such as the Shwedagon in Rangoon, the Shwesandaw of Prome or the Arakan in Mandalay have numerous *kyaungs* and shrines clustering about the towering spire, while many a village pagoda is cared for only by the villagers. The Shwedagon has numerous monasteries or other religious buildings erected by pious officials or men of wealth or by Buddhist associations. Rangoon Chinese Buddhists have a prominent shrine at its base. The Burmese pagoda is of solid masonry; there is no "temple."

In the time of Burmese kings the head of the monastic order was known as the *Thathanabaing*. This Grand Superior of the Buddhist hierarchy is more suitably called a monk than a priest. Strictly speaking, all precedence within the order is contrary to the teachings of the Buddha who declared there was no superiority in rank, but rather in piety and length of observance of the vows. Under the Burmese kings, "A Sadaw of eminence had always the power to have a case pending before the temporal courts transferred to him for settlement. The monks thus held the balance between the ruler and the ruled,"¹¹

Under British rule the *Thathanabaing's* power has deteriorated.¹² The last Buddhist *Thathanabaing* officially granted a *sanad* was the Taung Kwin Sayadaw who was given a personal *sanad* by Sir Hugh Barnes in 1903.¹³ Under this grant of power the *Thathanabaing* was subordinate to civil courts and his *sanad* was revocable at will by the Governor. The head of the Buddhist hierarchy has little but moral influence today, and his authority over internal affairs of the order is only partially

¹¹ *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, Part I, I, 4. For a statement on religion and its semblances in Burma, see *ibid.*, 1-83.

¹² See *Rangoon Gazette*, August 26, 1935, for a list of *Thathanabaings* from 1386 to 1903.

¹³ Maung Tha Gywe, *Treatise on Buddhist Law* (Mandalay, 1909), 324, has the terms of the *sanad*. A good recent study in its field is O. H. Mootham, *Burmese Buddhist Law* (Oxford, 1939).

recognized in lower Burma. In 1935 a full bench of the High Court in Rangoon, in the case of *U Pinnya Thiha* and another versus *U Ottama*, concurred in the opinion of the Chief Justice, Sir Arthur Page, that after the British annexation the Burmese, Buddhist hierarchy "neither retained nor possessed any jurisdiction . . ." to decide civil cases. The court decided at the same time that questions of the ownership of monastic property lay within the jurisdiction of the civil courts.¹⁴ This decision caused considerable apprehension among the Buddhist community that the Government planned to abolish the office of *Thathanabaing*. The Government later issued a communique indicating that the *Thathanabaing* was still recognized as "supreme in the internal administration and control of the Buddhist priesthood."¹⁵

While the legal powers of the *sayadaws* (senior monks) have been impaired, there has been little diminution in the spiritual influence of the Buddhist clergy. Competent investigations have held that Burmese Buddhism is less "active" than Japanese Buddhism, but more vital than Buddhism in China.¹⁶ This judgment, if true, is traceable to the overwhelming preponderance of Buddhism in Burma and to the fact that Burmese Buddhists make little or no effort to convert others to their point of view. At the same time Buddhism in Burma has not escaped entirely the disrupting influence of Western thought and institutions. There has been much dissatisfaction with the monastic schools; recent political activity of the *pongyis*, many of whom have forsaken the contemplative quiet of their *kyaungs* for the political arena, has lowered the prestige of the younger monks. On the other hand, the author attended a public meeting in Meiktila in 1935 at which a *myittha* of the Mandalay *Thathanabaing* was read and received with great deference. Monastic schools still confine their curriculum to teaching the alphabet, the Buddhist Beatitudes, the Nine Excellences of the Buddha, the Six Excellences of the Law, the Nine Excellences of the Assembly, and similar homilies. Many modern Burmese parents insist upon their sons receiving an English education that will give them university entrance and

¹⁴ The judgment is given in full in *Rangoon Gazette*, August 25, 1935.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, December 9, 1935.

¹⁶ *Laymen's Report*, 568-70. Some Buddhist missionary work is practised and carried on by the Burmese *pongyis* in Karenni and the northern hills.

preparation for business, industry, government service, or the professions.

According to the tenets of his religion, every Buddhist boy must spend some time in a monastery with his head shaven and wearing a yellow robe. Many lads remain *koyins* for a few days only. The average high school student will not remain for more than ten days; others take the oath of poverty, chastity, and obedience for a lifetime. No one is compelled to remain in a monastery; a *pongyi* may leave his *kyaung* at any time, that is he may "become a man again" at will. One reads occasionally of high Government officials who take leave and spend it in performance of religious duties in a *kyaung*. In rare instances Europeans have become Buddhists and worn the yellow robe in Burma; their influence is not great.

It is alleged that Buddhism is deficient in corporate morality and characterized by ". . . indifference to the lot of others and lack of interest in matters which are not of direct personal concern."¹⁷ Despite this criticism there is much evidence of Buddhist charitable work. In recent years several Buddhist orphanages and institutions for the care of the sick and aged have been established. Beggars, while not so numerous as in India or China, seldom go hungry. Many Burmans impoverish themselves in deeds of charity, *ahlus* (presentations of gifts to *pongyis*), building monasteries, pagodas, and other works of merit in the traditional manner. Roadside supplies of drinking water are provided for travelers. *Zayats* (public shelters) are provided by the pious at pagodas and places of pilgrimage or for the convenience of the traveling public.¹⁸

Although the monks opposed each extension of British power in Burma, it was not until the World War that they took an active interest in politics. The strikes of 1921-22, which led to the establishment of national schools, were supported by the order. During the Rangoon anti-Moslem riots from July to September 1938, it is alleged that *pongyis* with weapons in their hands led the rioters.¹⁹ The participation of monks in

¹⁷ F. B. Leach, "Autonomy on Trial in Burma," *Asiatic Review*, XXV (October 1939), 638.

¹⁸ The author treasures an earthen pot given him filled with water by a pious old couple at a railway station during Buddhist Lent. Painted on the sides are the words: *Payagyi shanzu U Twa Ma Shwe Bwin kaunghmu* (The good deed of U Twa and Ma Shwe Bwin of Shan quarter, Payagyi Town).

¹⁹ Leach, *loc. cit.*

politics, a situation seldom seen elsewhere in the world today, is deplored by many Burmese Buddhists, but the monastic order has such a hold upon the populace that "hardly a Burman dares criticise it in public." The report of the committee that investigated the 1938 riots was received with a "howl of execration as an insult to Buddhism."²⁰ Each political party in Burma now has an ecclesiastical caucus behind it and two of Burma's most prominent politicians, U Pu and U Tun, have explained their politics to the Governor of Burma as following the bidding of the *sayadaws*.²¹ The problem of the Buddhist clergy in politics is one that can be solved only by Burmese Buddhists. It is truly said to be one of the most difficult problems facing the country.²²

It must not be believed that the influence of the monastic order in politics is wholly evil. During the Burma rebellion of 1931, a *sayadaws'* Peace Mission of four influential monks led by the Aletawya Sayadaw undertook the dangerous task of touring the disaffected area in a successful effort to restore peace.²³ Frequently Buddhist monks are selected by Deputy Commissioners to visit jails to hold services for Buddhist prisoners; pious monks have made voluntary trips to the penal colony on the Andaman Islands to conduct preaching missions among Burmese prisoners. Many of the larger jails contain pagodas or *theins* (shrines). Sir Maung Ba, late Home Member of the Government of Burma, visited the Insein jail during his term of office and consecrated a *thein* constructed partly with his own funds.²⁴

Considering the fact that there are 120,000 members of the Buddhist order in Burma, it is not surprising that occasionally an errant monk may run afoul of the law. At one time there were ten *pongyis* in the Insein jail. Usually they are granted special treatment as B-class prisoners. On several occasions the Buddhist clergy has protested against what it considers evil in the popular Burmese novel and the cinema.²⁵ Likewise, when

²⁰ *Ibid.* See the *Report of the Riots Enquiry Committee* (Rangoon, 1939).

²¹ Leach, *op. cit.*, 646.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ For an account and photograph of the mission see *Rangoon Gazette*, December 24, 1931.

²⁴ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-1936*, 50.

²⁵ *Campbell Report*, 264.

modern Burmese young lady wore *kitawut aingyees*, fashionable jackets of too thin material, *pongyis* crusaded against the innovation and led boycotts against Indian shops which sold the materials, and in at least one instance used their canes to beat a Burmese woman who wore clothing to which they objected. *Pongyis* continue to insist that the Burman observe the Buddhist commandment against the use of alcoholic liquors; their influence is invariably directed against the opium traffic, prostitution, and other evils. During 1939, while India was experimenting with prohibition, the *sayadaus* campaigned actively for the enactment of temperance by law in Burma.²⁶

Among the 120,000 Buddhist monks in Burma, there are many of ability who appeal to the best in the Burmese character. One of the most famous *pongyis* is the Mohnyin Sayadaw who has conducted preaching missions in Rangoon and elsewhere in Burma, addressing crowds numbering as many as 50,000 people by means of public-address systems. The venerable U Kanthi, the Hermit of Mandalay Hill, is well known for his construction of magnificent religious works. On pagodas, *kyaungs*, *theins*, *pitika-tike* (places for printing Buddhist scriptures), and other edifices of merit, U Kanthi has spent £600,000 donated by Buddhists of Burma, China, Japan, Thailand, and by Europeans in Burma.

The monastic order is the most powerful supporter of Burmese traditions and literature. Annually in June the Patamabyan examinations for excellence in Burmese are held at the foot of Mandalay Hill. It is customary for the Government of Burma to announce the award in the New Year's Honors of the title of *Aggamahapandita* to Buddhist monks who have rendered conspicuous service to Burma, or who have won wide recognition for their learning. Aggamahapandita, the Ledi Sayadaw, was granted the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature by Rangoon University in 1921 for his accomplishments in Burmese literature. Those who criticize the monks for remaining aloof from the main currents of Burmese life should remember that by his vows the monk is separated from the world. The first Buddhist *koyin* (novice) to attend Rangoon University in his yellow robes was admitted in 1937.²⁷

Few countries have produced a more remarkable evidence

²⁶ London Times, August 19, 1939.

²⁷ Rangoon Gazette, June 21, 1937.

of faith in the national religion than the *Kuthodaw* (the royal merit) outside Mandalay. Here is preserved the certified text for the *Tripitika* scriptures, engraved on each side of 729 marble tablets, each protected by its own shrine. This work of King Mindon required five years, and the text, the best extant, was approved by the Fifth Great Synod.

Burmese civilization is indebted to Buddhism for many of its most picturesque features. There are four duty days in each lunar month on which the good Buddhists visit the pagodas. Here, in addition to buying and selling in bazaar stalls and retailing the latest gossip, they may listen to a discourse by a learned *sayadaw*. There is no formalized group worship, no music, no prayer wheels, no votive tablets. At the end of Buddhist Lent, during which there should be no courting or marriage, there is observed the festival of *Thadingyut* (the feast of lights). Then the villages are a fairyland of lighted candles, and the cities blaze with electric lights. The great festivals of *Waso*, *Kason*, *Tazoundaing*, and *Tagoo* are observed by millions. Important events in the life of Burmese boys and girls are the *shinbyu* and ear-boring festivals, to which *pongyis* are always invited. Religion as such has little part at Burmese weddings or funerals, although at fashionable weddings or the funerals of people of prominence it is customary to give presents to leading monks who may be invited. In his old age a Burmese gentleman delights in his title of *Kyaungtaga* or *payataga* (the endower of a monastery or a pagoda).

The educated Burman may smile at the stories of the prowess of the *thagyamin* (king of spirits) and he may have difficulty in reconciling scientific principles with orthodox Buddhism, but he will very likely remain deferential to Buddhist traditions. Buddhist scholars in Burma within the current decade have published numerous apologies which seek to reconcile traditional Buddhist astronomy, geography, and numerology with the findings of modern science; one of the most successful of these was recently the statistical officer of the Burma Railways. Burmese profanity, vitriolic and lurid, respectfully avoids any mention of the divinity.

In conclusion, the strength of Buddhism in Burma may be traced to patriotism; to its festive and social features; to its antiquity and prestige; to the system of gaining merit by pious works; to its high moral virtues; to the influence of the monastic

tic order; and to the fact that every Burmese boy spends some time observing its vows while wearing the yellow robe.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Christians in Burma number nearly 350,000, of whom two-thirds are from Karen groups. More than eighty per cent of all Christians are from indigenous races. Christians increased from fourteen per thousand in 1901 to twenty-three per thousand in 1931, the increase being due to immigration and to conversions among the non-Burman sections of the population. There are nearly 30,000 European and Anglo-Burman Christians in the colony. Christianity is gaining adherents rapidly among the tribes of peripheral Burma; despite the large number of Karen Christians, only seventeen per cent of these people are listed as Christians, the remainder being principally Buddhists or animists. In Karen Buddhist villages the *ponggi* is usually a Burman.²⁸

Christian enterprises in Burma began with the arrival of early missionaries in neighboring lands of eastern and southern Asia.²⁹ While it has been alleged that Nestorian missions were established in Pegu about the time of their appearance in China, there is no contemporary evidence from Burmese sources to support the statement, and there are no traces of Christian influence in Burma before the arrival of European adventurers in the fifteenth century. The Karens, however, have several legends concerning Creation, the Flood, and the Garden of Eden which suggest an early contact with the story of Genesis. The Genoese, de Stefano, who visited Pegu in 1495, buried one of his companions in a ". . . certain ruined church frequented by none," and di Varthema, who visited Burma in 1505, reported that in the king's court there were more than 1,000 Christians of the country.³⁰ Sir Henry Yule suggested that the Christians may have been Nestorians or Armenians;³¹ however, according to the Rangoon Armenian Church Kalendar, members of that community first came to Burma in 1612.

²⁸ *Census Report*, 1931, 209. The Report contains statistical classifications of the religions of Burma.

²⁹ For a critical survey of Christian missions in Burma see *Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry*, cit., IV, Pt. II, 553-749.

³⁰ G. P. Badger, ed., *Travels of Ludovico di Varthema* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1863), 217.

³¹ H. Cordier, ed., Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* (London, 1915), I, 177, n.

Pioneer Franciscans and Jesuits visited lower Burma on their way to Siam and the East. The first missionaries stationed in Burma were Genoud and Joret of the Missions Etrangères de Paris who reached Syriam in 1689, opened a small hospital, and were rewarded with martyrdom at Ava in 1693.³² Portuguese, Italian, and French missions, frequently in bitter rivalry, maintained a succession of resident priests as chaplains to the seaport Portuguese and Goanese. There were never more than a half-dozen priests at any one time, and at the English occupation in 1824 there were some 5,000 Indian, Portuguese, half-caste and native Catholics in Rangoon. These were in addition to about 2,000 *Baringyi*³³ in the Shwebo villages, descendants of European war prisoners who were moved to the interior of Burma and who, without the ministrations of the Catholic missions, would certainly have been engulfed in the Burmese population.³⁴ Aside from their assistance to the foreign prisoners in upper Burma, the early Catholic missions are remembered for their printing in Rome of the first Burmese book, an elementary Burmese grammar by Carpani. The Jesuits educated Dom Martin, an Arakanese prince, who was baptized in Bengal in 1612 and was later presented at the court of the King of Portugal. Maung Saw, the first Burman known to have visited Europe, accompanied the priest Montegazza to Rome in 1784.

Roman Catholic mission schools in Burma were established in 1721 and have been operated continuously ever since.³⁵ Modern Catholic missions flourish under the direction of the Bishop and Vicar Apostolic of Rangoon. There are Catholic churches, schools, and convents in the principal cities of Burma, and the Church, through its various societies, conducts an active mission enterprise in both urban and rural Burma. Its most famous school is St. Paul's School for boys in Rangoon, in which were educated many of the leaders of present-day Burma. In addition it operates numerous mission stations among the hill tribes of Burma in such remote places as Papun, Keng Tung and the Arakan Hills. There are 90,000 Roman Catholics in the country.

³² See Harvey, *op. cit.*, 345, for sources on early Catholic missions in Burma.

³³ *Baringyi* is derived from "Franki," i.e. the Franks, the term once applied to all Occidentals in the East. *Baringyi* *stain* is current Burmese for the Roman Catholic Church.

³⁴ Bishop Bigandet, *An Outline of the History of the Catholic Burmese Mission from the year 1720 to 1837* (Rangoon, 1887).

³⁵ Campbell Report, 221.

Protestant missions began with the arrival in Rangoon of Chater and Mardon of the English Baptist Missionary Society who sailed from Calcutta in January 1807. After a stay of three months in Rangoon, the two returned to Calcutta. On November 29, 1807, Chater and Felix Carey, son of William Carey, left Serampore for Rangoon. Chater and Carey were joined in March 1810 by Brain and Pritchett of the London Missionary Society.³⁶ By November Felix Carey was alone in Rangoon, except for short intervals, until the arrival of Dr. and Mrs. Adoniram Judson in 1813. Despite handicaps, Carey prepared a Burmese grammar and dictionary and began the translation of the New Testament into Burmese, all of which were improved and completed by Adoniram Judson.³⁷ The leading mission society in Burma since the time of Judson has been the American Baptist Mission. At present it has a membership of about 225,000 among all races in Burma.³⁸ In 1931 the Baptist membership included sixty-four per cent of the 331,106 Christians in Burma.³⁹ Roman Catholics accounted for twenty-seven per cent of the Christians; seven per cent were Anglicans, the remaining two per cent being divided among several societies.

Baptist influence is felt in Burma particularly in education; Judson College had an enrollment in excess of 500 in 1940. Its Morton Lane High School for girls in Moulmein, Kemmendine Girls' High School in Rangoon, and the A.B.M. Girls' High School in Mandalay are among the outstanding schools for girls in Burma. During 1939 the mission operated a total of 708 schools of all classes, for the partial support of which Government grants totalling U.S. \$211,234 were received.⁴⁰ Enrollments totaled 2,022 boys and 1,108 girls attending high schools and college, and 32,164 pupils in other schools, a total of 35,294 pupils in Baptist mission schools.

Baptist Mission hospitals, including the Harper Memorial Hospital at Namkham and the Ellen Mitchell Hospital for

³⁶ See B. R. Pearn, "A Burma Diary of 1810," JBRS, XXVII (December) 1937), 283-307.

³⁷ See B. R. Pearn, "Felix Carey and the English Baptist Mission in Burma," JBRS, XXVIII (April 1938), 1-91.

³⁸ *Annual Report, American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1939* (New York, 1939). The *Census Report, 1931*, recorded 212,990 adherents of the American Baptist Mission.

³⁹ *Census Report, 1931*, 212.

⁴⁰ *Annual Report, A.B.M., op. cit.*, 123.

women in Moulmein and a smaller institution at Keng Tung, treated 62,672 patients during 1938. A particularly significant mission enterprise in Burma is the Pyinmina Agricultural School, a rural reconstruction enterprise which has Government recognition and an annual grant of Rs. 10,000.⁴¹ The Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon, is one of the most efficient plants of its type in the Orient. Several mission societies combine to support the Christian Literature Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society in Burma.

Anglicans in Burma, while not the largest society, have great influence due to the official status of the Anglican clergy and the fact that most European officials in Burma are members of this communion. Through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society it operates numerous schools and out-stations. The Church is under the governance of the Lord Bishop of Rangoon; the present Bishop, the Right Reverend G. A. West, formerly a missionary at Kappili on the Salween River, is intimately acquainted with Burma's rural problems. Anglican interest in Burma began with the arrival of British forces in the first Anglo-Burmese War. This community was attached to the Bishop of Calcutta until 1877 when the See of Rangoon was created. Under the present Government, ecclesiastical affairs are a "reserved subject" under the personal control of the Governor. As before mentioned,⁴² this provision has reference to the status and service of Government chaplains in civil stations in Burma. Never in recent years have there been more than ten Government chaplains; the present number is six. While there is some objection on the part of Burmese nationalists to the payment of Government chaplains from public funds, they render valuable services to isolated European communities, and their employment is perhaps justified by their religious and humanitarian functions among Europeans in Burma, many of whom serve in distant stations and would otherwise be deprived of the essential services of Christian marriage or burial. The expenses of these clergy are an inconsequential part of the cost of civil administration in Burma. In addition their duties extend to service as chaplains among European troops in Burma. These clergy seldom conduct ordinary missionary enterprises among the native population.

⁴¹ See J. Russell Andrus, *Rural Reconstruction in Burma* (Madras, 1935), 11, 42.

⁴² See Chapter VI.

They were formerly in charge of Government cemeteries and birth, death, and marriage registers for Christians. At present, birth and marriage registers are maintained under the direction of Deputy Commissioners, or other designated officials.

Under the Indian Church Act, the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon ended its connection as an established church in 1930. Half of the salary of the Bishop of Rangoon is paid by endowments in England, and the remainder by funds contributed locally in Burma. The present Lord Bishop of Rangoon is the first elected by the Rangoon Diocesan Council. His territory includes Burma and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, although these island groups are not under the political control of the Government of Burma. Among its total membership of 25,000 the Anglican Church has numerous adherents among Anglo-Burmans and the immigrant Anglo-Indians. Within the present decade it has opened a rural health center and mission station in the delta, but in the main it has not been active among the Burmese community. It conducts schools in Rangoon, Toungoo, Moulmein, Maymyo, and other cities in addition to the College of the Holy Cross for the training of indigenous clergy in Rangoon. The Diocesan Girls' School in Rangoon has perhaps the most imposing buildings among secondary schools in Burma, while St. Luke's in Toungoo is well known for the excellence of its scholastic work.

Because of the numerous Scottish commercial community in Rangoon, the Scots Kirk, a beautiful new structure in a commanding location, has considerable influence in the capital city. Presbyterians in Burma have no mission work aside from fostering the interests of immigrant Indians of this Church, and their congregation is composed principally of foreigners.

The Methodist Mission, English and American, conducts one of the leading girls' schools in Rangoon, schools in Mandalay, Pakokku, and mission work in the Sagaing Division of upper Burma and in the Pegu Division. Its Kingswood School in Kalaw and the Anglican school of St. Michael's in Maymyo are the best-known boarding schools for European children in Burma. The Methodists have a larger work among Chinese in Rangoon than any other society. The community has 3,000 members and 4,000 pupils in its mission schools.⁴³

⁴³ *Burma Annual Conference, Methodist Church, 40th Annual Report* (Lucknow, 1939),

While no mission group other than those mentioned has a membership of more than 1,000, the Seventh-Day Adventists, the Christian Scientists, the Salvation Army, and others have been active during the present century. The Salvation Army is noteworthy for its work among the urban underprivileged and for the fact that its European staff, unlike other Europeans in Burma, wears Burmese costume.

NON-CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

Among non-European immigrants to Burma there are various religious or quasi-religious groups which conduct charitable, medical, educational, cultural, or similar activities. These societies are difficult to classify into rigid compartments but they are organized almost invariably upon a racial or religious basis. While they seldom do direct proselyting, their usual activity is the conducting of educational or charitable work for members of the immigrant communities in Burma. Thus Bengalis, Telugus, Tamils, Gujeratis, Hindustanis, Chettyars, Sikhs, and other immigrant Indians operate schools for the education of their own children. These schools, which may be self-supporting or Government-aided, invariably teach Burmese and English as secondary languages. Rangoon and up-country stations have Chinese schools and the usual societies which follow Chinese immigrants everywhere in South Asia. Many cities in Burma have Sikh temples; Moslem mosques are more common, and there are numerous Hindu and Chinese temples. Some of these societies, as for example the Ramkrishna Mission in Rangoon, operate hospitals. The Moslem Free Dispensary gave 121,157 free treatments to patients of all creeds during 1939.⁴⁴ Others conduct schools such as the Bengal Academy, while still others maintain reading rooms, literary societies, social or athletic clubs, or youth organizations. In all cases the primary or secondary function of these groups is the perpetuation of the language, religion, or racial precedents of the sponsoring community. However, it is indicative of the commendable tolerance of the Burmese people that little animosity is felt toward these alien associations which are afforded full recognition and protection at law. Only during times of racial rivalry such as the anti-Indian riots during the decade 1930-40, and the anti-Chinese riots of 1931 have the Burmans taken more than pass-

⁴⁴ *Rangoon Gazette*, June 13, 1940.

ing notice of these foreign associations. As may be expected, children of immigrants to Burma take less interest in these associations than do recent arrivals in Burma. The second generation frequently adopt Burmese costume and take Burmese names, particularly when there has been an admixture of Burmese blood in the family.

CHAPTER XII

THE BURMA ROAD

RAILWAYS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Study of a map of Asia reveals the curious fact that there was before the outbreak of the present war no connection between any of the five important railway systems of southern and eastern Asia. With 45,000 miles of track of various gauges in the subcontinent of India, it is impossible to travel by rail outside its borders except to Duzdap, a short distance across the Iranian frontier. From Duzdap, one can travel south to Cape Comorin, north to the Khyber Pass, and northeast to Sadiya in Assam within 100 miles of Burma, China, and Tibet. But across India's northeastern frontier there is neither railway nor highway.

Crossing the Bay of Bengal to Burma, the same lack of outside railway connection is seen. Burma has some 2,000 miles of meter-gauge line. From Ye, down the Tenasserim Coast within 300 miles of Bangkok, there is railway connection north to Myitkyina, 250 miles within the temperate zone and within 100 miles of China. Prior to the Japanese completion of the Bangkok-Moulmein railway in December, 1943 there was no railway connection from Burma to Thailand. There still is none to India or China.

Turning south to Thailand, the Royal Thailand State Railway, one of the most efficiently operated systems in Asia, maintains through traffic from Chiengmai in the teak forests of northern Thailand south to Bangkok and east across the barren Korat plateau to Ubon, within 100 miles of the Mekong and French Indo-China. Aside from the extension south to the Federated Malay States and Singapore, and the linking of the railway between Bangkok and Phnom-penh in 1941. Thailand's railways had no external connection; despite this handicap the Thailand railways yielded a comfortable profit to the state.

In French Indo-China lines have been constructed from Saigon to within 100 miles of Thailand and north to Hanoi, the

northern connection having been completed since 1935. The Haiphong-Yunnan line is French Indo-China's only external connection by rail, aside from the short branch line toward Nanning in Kwangsi. Again, there is no connection between China's central railway systems and those of India, Burma, Thailand or French Indo-China to her southwest. Passenger and freight revenues on the French Yunnan line have been disappointing.

During the five decades before 1920, there was talk of a grand trunk line from Calais to Shanghai; it was believed that India and China, the two most populous areas in Asia, would not long be content to exist contiguously without being joined by steel rails. Much of this enthusiasm neglected the fact that there has been little land travel or commerce between India and China, and even the subject of Indian-Chinese relations is considered somewhat recondite. Lord Curzon, a Viceroy for whom frontiers and imperialism in the grand manner had great attraction, personally vetoed connection of the Burma railways with Yunnan as "midsummer madness." In Burma he is credited with having stopped the Burma railways at Lashio with the remark, "The entire Burmo-Chinese trade was then being successfully transported across the Salween in two dug-outs." He also opposed connection of Burma and India by rail.¹ Moreover, ocean traffic between China and India is negligible, and authorities believe there is slight possibility of the development of extensive commerce between the two countries.

Throughout southern Asia railway construction is at a standstill. Railways in India and Burma feel motor truck and bus competition almost as keenly as do American lines. Nor has there been any major construction of new lines in India, Burma, Thailand or southwestern China for more than a decade. Extensive surveys have been made for new lines in Burma, but not since Turkish prisoners were employed on the Southern Shan States line during and immediately after the World War has there been extensive construction in upper Burma.

This cursory survey of rail transportation in Southeast Asia makes apparent the fact that travel and trade between sections of that vast area continue by sea, as it has since the beginning of historic times. Despite the obvious saving in distance, even

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¹ Lovat Fraser, *India Under Curzon and After* (New York, 1911), 312-15.

today the generalization that there is little or no overland trade from India to China between Darjeeling and Bhamo on the Irrawaddy remains substantially correct. Only the present gladiatorial struggle between Japan and China has intervened to disturb the ancient calm of the passes through the eastern spurs of the Himalayan system.

TRANS-BURMA TRADE ROUTES TO CHINA BEFORE 1900

Since early adventurers first reached the Bay of Bengal, Europeans have been intrigued by the problem of finding ways to utilize this evident shortcut to China in preference to the perilous journey through the Straits of Malacca and up the China coast. At one point the upper Yangtze, far above its head of navigation, flows within 600 miles of the northern reaches of the Bay of Bengal, whereas it is some 4,300 miles by sea from Calcutta to Shanghai. Hence the most obvious route to south-western China, if one wished to avoid the jutting Malay Peninsula, is across Burma. Brief examination of the historic routes into China from that side and the efforts which have been made to develop them are of some interest in evaluating Burma's importance in the Far East.

Until the middle of the past century it was believed that the Irrawaddy, like the Brahmaputra, the Salween, the Mekong, and the Yangtze, arose in Tibet. Consequently it was assumed that the most direct route to higher Asia would be along its valley. The early cartographers described an interior lake from which all these rivers had a common origin. Experience, the best geographer, has since shown that the great barrier which prevents ready ingress to China from the Indian Ocean is formed by the central massif of southwest China, broken only by the river trenches which, except for the Salween, drain their waters away from the Bay of Bengal.² Through these valleys flow the Salween, the Mekong, and the Yangtze; at one point, somewhat north of the present route of the Yunnan-Burma highway, the three mighty rivers are compressed within a distance of 48 miles, separated only by ridges reaching up to 8,000 feet above the floors of the adjacent valleys.³ On the Bhamo-Tali

² Bruno Hassendine, *Some Contributions to the Geographical and Cartographical Literature of the Indo-Chinese Frontier* (no date or place), gives a useful list of the principal sources on the Yunnan frontier before 1900.

³ C. M. Enriques, *A Burmese Loneliness* (Calcutta, 1915), 10, 11.

road the Salween is 1,700 feet lower than the Mekong.⁴

Difficult as the journey is, there has existed for centuries a straggling trade between Burma and China along the "ambassador's road" from Bhamo to Yunnanfu. But estimates of the extent and value of Sino-Burmese trade before the British annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 are meager. It was alleged without any real evidence that the East India Company established a trade depot at Bhamo in 1619, followed shortly thereafter by the Dutch, but that before their China trade became well developed both factories were closed by the Burmese king in consequence of the Dutch having called upon the Chinese to settle a dispute between themselves and the king of Ava.⁵ At any rate, not for two hundred years subsequently were there Europeans in Bhamo engaged in the trans-frontier trade with China.

Several of the envoys sent by the East India Company to Burma during the period 1700-1824 reported on the China trade from Upper Burma.⁶ Colonel Symes, who visited Ava in 1795, informed the Government of India that there was an extensive cotton trade from Burma to China.⁷ Dr. Buchanan, the distinguished geographer, made a similar report and after 1826, when John Crawford was sent to Ava to negotiate a trade treaty with Burma, information on the trans-Salween trade became more adequate. Crawford stated that some British woollens went to Yunnan and Szechwan in 1826 and in the same year 14,000,000 pounds of cotton worth £228,000 were exported to China by Burmese land routes.⁸ This considerable trade was supplemented by exports of jade, amber, rubies, sapphires, edible birds' nests, and minor items; these were paid for by Chinese exports of copper, ironware, brass, tin, lead, gold leaf, medicines, and sundry Chinese luxuries in foods and dress. Except for the addition of matches, textiles, and petroleum products, the basic native trade has changed little to the present time.

⁴ For a photographic report on the area somewhat north of the highway route see Joseph F. Rock, "Through the Great River Trenches of Asia," *National Geographic Magazine*, L, August 1926, 133-86.

⁵ A. Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory* (London, 1793), I, 98.

⁶ Sources are cited in D. G. E. Hall, *Early English Interchange with Burma* (London, 1928), *passim*.

⁷ Michael Symes, *An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava Sent by the Governor-General of India in the Year 1795* (London, 1800), III, 212.

⁸ John Crawford, *Journal of an Embassy from the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava* (London, 1829), 436-8.

Crawfurd's account must have aroused the interest of the Government of India in the land trade to China; at any rate the Bengal Government the following year published a map showing the most desirable routes overland to Yunnanfu. As Britain's eastward expansion brought her into closer contact with Burma, the possibilities of an overland trade with China became more apparent. After the first Anglo-Burmese war of 1824, numerous surveys were made from India and from Moulmein toward the Chinese frontier. Limitations of space prevent more than mere mention of the names of Richardson, who in 1834 reached Chiengmai within 150 miles of the point where the Mekong forms the common frontier for Burma, Thailand, and French Indo-China; Captain Hannay, who surveyed the overland route from Bengal to Burma and reached Bhamo on December 21, 1835, as the first Britisher to see this gateway to China for two centuries; and Captain McLeod, who in 1837 made the remarkable journey to Kianghung in Yunnan with six elephants and was the first European to penetrate China by the Salween route for purposes of examining trade routes.⁹ A careful sampling of the wealth of manuscript and published material left by these pioneers of commerce in Southeast Asia reveals their extraordinary zeal for an objective almost impossible in their day—the establishment of overland trade to China.

During the interval between the first and second Anglo-Burmese wars relatively little was done to promote the China trade by the Bhamo route. British energies were directed toward reaching China overland from Moulmein, which passed to British hands in 1824. In 1831 Captain Sprye first proposed the route up the Salween to China by way of Kianghung, and he continued persistently to keep the route before the British public for nearly a half-century.¹⁰ Burma, having lost its sole remaining maritime province to Britain in 1852, became an inland state and opposed all British efforts to cross its territory to Yunnan province.

In 1855 Lord Dalhousie, wishing to consolidate British advantages in Burma, sent the memorable mission of Sir Arthur

⁹ Hannay's reports were published in *Selection of Papers on the Hill Tracts Between Assam and Burma* (Calcutta, 1873). For a concise account of the British efforts to reach southwestern China see Hugh Clifford, *Frontier India* (London, 1907). It has an extensive bibliography.

¹⁰ The *Parliamentary Papers* contain nearly twenty documents, too numerous to cite separately, on trans-Burma trade routes during the period 1824-1867.

Phayre to Ava. Sir Henry Yule's delightful account of the embassy incorporates much material from the journals and unpublished sources of Richardson, Hannay, Pemberton, Bayfield, McLeod, and others.¹¹ While the mission was unsuccessful in persuading the king of Ava to sign a treaty permitting trans-Burma trade with China, it was highly successful in other respects. Yule assumed correctly that the China overland trade was declining, due in part to the fact that cotton had been declared a royal monopoly by Burma in 1854. He estimated the then current exports through Bhamo at £235,000 and the imports at £187,000, figures somewhat less than those given by Anderson for the same year.¹²

The Panthay rebellion of Yunnan, which broke out while Phayre and Yule were in Ava, combined with the vagaries of Burmese policy to bring trade almost to a complete standstill until it was suppressed in 1873. By 1860 British interest in the China routes became more insistent; in that year the Manchester Chamber of Commerce memorialized the Home Government on the necessity of opening the Moulmein-China route for the British textile trade. In consequence, Sir Arthur Phayre was sent again to Ava in 1862. He negotiated a treaty which permitted British residents to live in Upper Burma, restricted duties on imports from China to one per cent and prohibited the levy of any tax or transit dues on goods destined for China overland.¹³

Captain Sprye again advanced his proposal for a trade route across the Karenni hills to Kianghung on the Mekong and thence on to Szumao, which subsequently became an inland treaty port until it was left stranded by the construction of the French Yunnan railway. Sprye's route suffered from the same disadvantages that plagued the railway proposed by Colquhoun and Hallett in the 1880's—it passed through sparsely settled malarious areas and pointed in the direction of Kwangsi rather than toward the rich markets of Yunnan and Szechwan.

As one result of Phayre's treaty Dr. Clement Williams, a British military surgeon and first political agent at Mandalay for the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, left Mandalay on January 24, 1863, for a trip to Bhamo in a boat supplied by

¹¹ See Sir Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission Sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava* (London, 1858), 144-50, for Sino-Burman trade.

¹² John Anderson, *Mandalay to Momein* (London, 1876), 7.

¹³ For the treaty see *British and Foreign State Papers 1864-65*, Vol. 55, 850-2.

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In 1855 Lord Dalhousie, wishing to consolidate British advantages in Burma, sent the memorable mission of Sir Arthur

⁹Hannay's reports were published in *Selection of Papers on the Hill Tracts Between Assam and Burma* (Calcutta, 1873). For a concise account of the period of efforts to reach southwestern China see Hugh Clifford, *Further India* (London, 1920). It has an extensive bibliography.

¹⁰The *Parliamentary Papers* contain nearly twenty documents, too numerous to cite separately, on trans-Burma trade routes during the period 1824-1852.

Phayre to Ava. Sir Henry Yule's delightful account of the embassy incorporates much material from the journals and unpublished sources of Richardson, Hannay, Pemberton, Bayfield, McLeod, and others.¹¹ While the mission was unsuccessful in persuading the king of Ava to sign a treaty permitting trans-Burma trade with China, it was highly successful in other respects. Yule assumed correctly that the China overland trade was declining, due in part to the fact that cotton had been declared a royal monopoly by Burma in 1854. He estimated the then current exports through Bhamo at £235,000 and the imports at £187,000, figures somewhat less than those given by Anderson for the same year.¹²

The Panthay rebellion of Yunnan, which broke out while Phayre and Yule were in Ava, combined with the vagaries of Burmese policy to bring trade almost to a complete standstill until it was suppressed in 1873. By 1860 British interest in the China routes became more insistent; in that year the Manchester Chamber of Commerce memorialized the Home Government on the necessity of opening the Moulmein-China route for the British textile trade. In consequence, Sir Arthur Phayre was sent again to Ava in 1862. He negotiated a treaty which permitted British residents to live in Upper Burma, restricted duties on imports from China to one per cent and prohibited the levy of any tax or transit dues on goods destined for China overland.¹³

Captain Sprye again advanced his proposal for a trade route across the Karenni hills to Kianghung on the Mekong and thence on to Szumao, which subsequently became an inland treaty port until it was left stranded by the construction of the French Yunnan railway. Sprye's route suffered from the same disadvantages that plagued the railway proposed by Colquhoun and Hallett in the 1880's—it passed through sparsely settled malarious areas and pointed in the direction of Kwangsi rather than toward the rich markets of Yunnan and Szechwan.

As one result of Phayre's treaty Dr. Clement Williams, a British military surgeon and first political agent at Mandalay for the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, left Mandalay on January 24, 1863, for a trip to Bhamo in a boat supplied by

¹¹ See Sir Henry Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission Sent by the Governor-General of India to the Court of Ava* (London, 1858), 144-50, for Sino-Burman trade.

¹² John Anderson, *Mandalay to Momein* (London, 1876), 7.

¹³ For the treaty see *British and Foreign State Papers 1864-65*, Vol. 55, 850-2.

the King of Burma. Williams wrote an account which is full of information on proposed railways and roads to China.¹⁴ He predicted correctly that the Bhamo route would become the most important gateway to Yunnan; but he reported erroneously of the Hsenwi route, "From Thenni (Burmese for Hsenwi) it is, I believe, an almost uninterrupted plain to the very central point of Yunnan."¹⁵ At Hsenwi, thirty miles beyond the end of the railway at Lashio, the difficulties have hardly begun. About the same time Dr. Marfels, a German physician in the service of the King of Burma, became interested in schemes for railway construction across Burma and advocated the route from Magwe to Esmok, this being a variant of the Hsenwi route.

Major General Albert Fytche, who succeeded Sir Arthur Phayre as Chief Commissioner of British Burma on March 11, 1867, proceeded almost immediately to Mandalay and secured Mindon Min's signature to a treaty which compromised Burmese independence. Under its terms British extraterritoriality was established; British agents were permitted to sit in Burmese custom houses; there was a further restriction on Burma's power to control commerce across her territory to China; a Resident was authorized for Mandalay; and British steamers were granted the right to navigate the Irrawaddy.¹⁶ Captain Strover reached Bhamo in November 1868, having traveled up by the first British steamer to reach Bhamo, and was stationed there as a special agent.¹⁷ Strover's reports on British overland trade were disappointing. In 1872 it was reported that during the three preceding years not a single consignment belonging to British firms had reached Bhamo, whereas the native trade increased greatly. In the spring of 1870 loaded pack mules reached Bhamo from China at the rate of 800 a month.

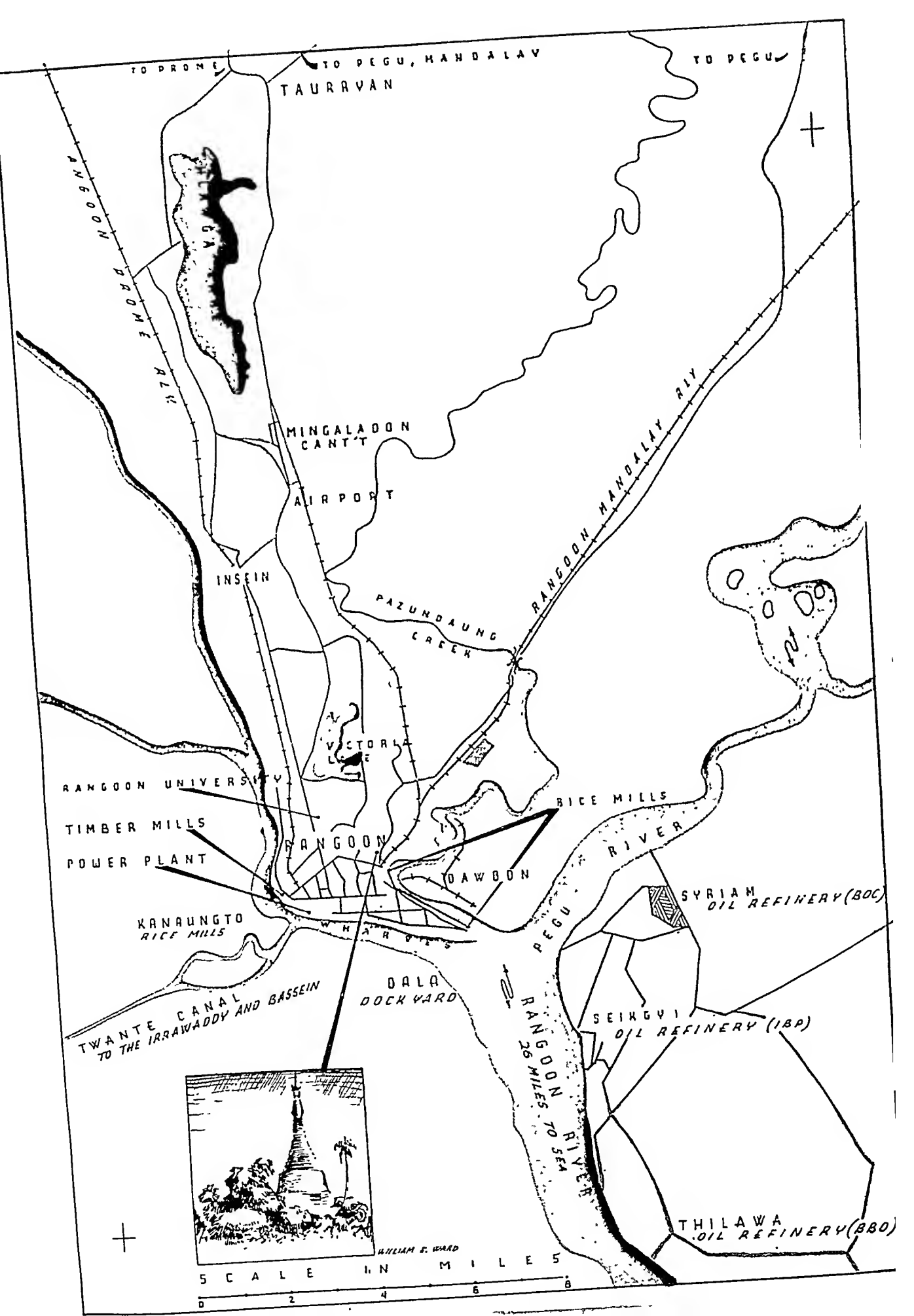
While General Fytche was in Mandalay he proposed to the King that an expedition be sent into Yunnan in an effort to revive the trade with China. The King gave his consent grudgingly.

¹⁴ Clement Williams, *Through Burma to Western China* (London, 1868), Williams 1-44, was published as a Blue Book, *Trade and Telegraph Routes to Western China*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17. Prior to the construction of the "Burma Road" to Yunnan in 1914, the Bhamo route carried more goods than did the caravan roads leading to China from Namkham.

¹⁶ See articles V, VI, X, Anglo-Burmese Treaty of October 25, 1867, in *Burma and Foreign State Papers 1870-71*, Vol. 61, 1305-8.

¹⁷ *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States* (Rangoon, 1900), Pt. I, I, 21.



ingly, and Fytche had as much difficulty in securing permission from the Government of India. Eventually all was approved, and the party of six Europeans and fifty sepoy of the military police was placed under command of Major E. B. Sladen, the Political Agent at Mandalay. The very day on which the Sladen party left Mandalay a train of two hundred pack mules reached the capital from Yunnan by the longer Hsenwi route. Chinese and Burmese merchants and officials in Mandalay and Bhamo did all in their power to hinder the expedition. The King of Burma placed his steamer *Yenansekya* at Sladen's disposal, not wishing the British to have the honor of sending the first steamer to Bhamo; but at the same time he ordered his governor of Bhamo to desert the expedition ". . . so that they may die."¹⁸ The Rangoon Chamber of Commerce supplied £3,000 for the expense of the expedition and for purchase of samples of Chinese trade goods. Their representative, Captain Alexander Bowers, has left a valuable account of the commercial work of the Sladen party, which was unable to proceed beyond Momein (modern Tengyueh) due to the disturbed state of the country controlled by the Panthays. After a stay of six weeks in Momein, Sladen's expedition returned to Bhamo on September 5, 1868, with detailed surveys of the route to Momein, having reached neither the Salween nor the Mekong. Fytche gave careful instructions to avoid political encounters, but emphasized the main purpose as the extension of British trade to China.

While the British were attempting to overcome the Burma and Panthay obstacles to the markets of China, other nations were not idle. In 1868 the French under Garnier reached Tali and they were expected to appear next in Mandalay and Keng Tung. Meantime the fiction of China as the greatest market in the world was growing in newspaper offices and about the stock exchanges. In May 1869 the golden spike was driven to mark the completion of the first American transcontinental railroad, and within six months thereafter the Suez Canal was opened for traffic. The promoters in each case believed they had gained a decisive advantage over competitors for Oriental

¹⁸ The official account of the Sladen exploration is Major E. B. Sladen, *Narrative of the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo* (Rangoon, 1869). It was published in 1871 as a Parliamentary Paper. See also Alexander Bowers, *Bhamo Expedition, A Report on the Practicability of Re-opening the Trade Route, Between Burma and Western China* (Rangoon, 1869).

trade.¹⁹ Particularly did British administrators in the East regard the American railway as a threat to their pre-eminence in the China markets. General Fytche wrote to Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, on March 10, 1869:

...Burma has other and strong grounds for attention. It promises to furnish a highway to China, and to me the day does not seem far distant when this question may force itself on Government with extreme urgency. The extraordinary use of the Western States of America, the hot haste with which the Government are pushing on connection with the western seaboard, and the predominancy they have lately advanced in Chinese diplomatic relations with other courts [a reference to Burlingame] all point to a determination on the part of America to secure, if possible, the command of the China market....I should consider it highly prudent on Imperial grounds that we should be in a position to substitute a western ingress to China...²⁰

With California newspapers before 1870 advertising through trips from Liverpool to Hongkong by way of Panama in 56 days, British commercial interests became alarmed over the prospects of American competition and sought a shorter route to China. They promoted construction of the Alpine tunnels, and advocated a line from Burma to China. An editorial in the *Saturday Review* pointed to the advantages of the trans-Burma route:

We may look forward to a speedy prolongation of the Burma railway line into the Chinese interior, and even to Shanghai, about 1,500 miles off; nothing else ought to be contemplated....The French are threatening us on the Upper Cambodia....In 1870 an Atlantic and Pacific Railway will be in existence, after which the shortest route between Europe and Japan will be by the United States. The same route will also come seriously into competition with the existing routes to Shanghai and Hongkong. To...prevent all chance of the route for our most important commerce lying through the United States, no other means are available than these roads into Western China...the United States route would be superseded. We might thus have Rangoon as the port of China, and India as the highway for passengers and mail.²¹

Meantime, the attitude of the Government of India toward the opening of its northeastern frontier and the development

¹⁹ Asa Whitney and Thomas Hart Benton persistently advocated western railroads as a means of reaching both India and China. Benton's statue in St. Louis has its arm pointing westward over the inscription, "There lies the Road to India." See Ida Barr Woestemeyer, ed., *The Westward Movement* (New York, 1934), 368.

²⁰ Fytche, *op. cit.*, II, 120-1.

²¹ Quoted in Williams, *op. cit.*, 201.

of the China overland trade routes appeared to take a new turn with each new Governor-General. In the main, the counsel of Dr. Buchanan became the policy of the Government of India for three-quarters of a century, that is until the British had a series of boundary disputes with China following the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886.²²

Lord William Bentinck in 1829 and Lord Auckland in 1835 ordered surveys of the China routes; but succeeding Governors-General frequently reversed the policy. Political embarrassment with China and Siam, the expense of the surveys, the dangers of unknown territory, the Panthay rebellion, incursions of wild Kachin tribes across the Bhamo routes all served as excuses for delay. The Sladen expedition of 1868 was undertaken really against the advice of the Viceroy, Lord Lawrence, who ". . . doubted the expediency of the expedition. . . . His Excellency can hardly conceive any step more imprudent than for British merchants to settle in Bhamo, or a British official to be stationed there for any purpose."²³ However, a British agent was stationed in Bhamo; but he was not provided with a gunboat as was at first suggested.²⁴ Even General Fytche, who was an ardent promoter of the overland trade, accepted the reports of Williams, Luard, and Watson and opposed opening the Salween route or railway construction of any sort. Lord Mayo sent emphatic instructions to General Fytche: "This scheme ought not to receive the support of the Government of India at this time, and whatever its merits it was brought forward a generation too soon." At the same time British officials in Burma proposed that they take over the foreign relations of that state.

By 1874 Lord Salisbury had become Secretary of State for India; the Imperialists regained control of Yunnan province and invited Burma to reopen the Bhamo trade; and the British Associated Chambers of Commerce petitioned the Government for action along the Burmese frontier. On April 23, 1874, Salisbury ordered a survey "either along Sprye's route or otherwise." The Government of India favored the Thenni route, but by October had changed its official mind and decided upon another

²² *Papers Respecting the Nepaul War* (London, 1824), 45. See also *infra*, 221.

²³ Dispatch Muir to Fytche, Simla, July 18, 1867, in *Official Narrative of the Papers Connected with the Expedition to Explore the Trade Routes to China via Bhamo Under the Command of Major E. B. Sladen, Political Agent, Mandalay* (Rangoon, 1869), App. T.

²⁴ Bowers, *op. cit.*, 100.

survey of the Bhamo route since that was the line favored by the Burmese Government as being more directly under its control. During the interval between the Sladen expedition of 1868 and the decision to send out a new party in 1875 there was a disappointing lull in frontier trading. In 1869 a Scottish company began a monthly steamer service to Bhamo and a weekly service to Mandalay, but trade was so insufficient that a Government subsidy was required. During the year ending October 1874, British steamers carried cargo valued at £200,000 to or from Bhamo.

The expedition of 1875 was under the command of Colonel Horace Browne, with Ney Elias, who is remembered for his journey through Mongolia and his survey of the Yellow River, as geographer. John Anderson, who had been a member of the Sladen party, again served as medical officer and geologist. Salisbury had instructed Sir Thomas Wade to arrange for a British consular official to go overland from Shanghai to Bhamo since it was proposed that the Browne party should leave China by the Yangtze valley. In consequence Augustus Margary reached Bhamo on January 17, 1875, to the great astonishment of the Burmese and Chinese who were resident there, the first white man to make the trip.

Margary began the return journey a day in advance of the Sladen party in the same manner in which he came from Shanghai, unarmed, and without European companions. On February 21, 1875, Margary was murdered at Manwyine, approximately midway between Bhamo and Tengyueh.²³ Chinese tribesmen had been hostile from the first since they believed that the first purpose of the Browne party was railway construction through China.²⁴ This unhappy incident, together with a threat of a Chinese attack in force, ended the Browne expedition and it withdrew to Bhamo without reaching Tengyueh.

It is significant that no British party was able to penetrate Yunnan as far as Tali. The Browne expedition marked the end of British efforts for a decade to reach interior China by the Bhamo route. As a matter of fact, the reports of Grovenor, Baber, and Davenport, who were sent from Hankow to Yunnan in connection with the British demand for reparation over the

²³ The resultant British demand for compensation gave rise to the *First Canton Convention*, a recent study of which—with contemporary maps—by V. E. Wade, *The Margary Affair and the Chinese Convention* (New York, 1922).

²⁴ Anderson, *op. cit.*, 377.

Margary affair, convinced the Home Government that the topographic difficulties of the route from Bhamo to Yunnan and Szechwan were too great for practical railway construction.²⁷ Baber's report was quite correct; at any rate there is a dearth of official papers having reference to the China overland trade after 1875. With the accession of Theebaw in 1878, conditions in what remained of independent Burma became progressively more chaotic. Trade declined and in October 1879 the British Resident withdrew from Mandalay, the mixed court was closed, and the agent withdrawn from Bhamo. Matters drifted along until 1885 when the ultimatum which ended Burmese independence demanded, among other things, that facilities for opening British trade with China through Burma be provided.²⁸ Bhamo was occupied without resistance in December 1885 and has ever since been the headquarters of a Deputy Commissioner and a customs officer. For several years after the annexation, trade decreased due to depredations of decoits on both sides of the frontier. Raw cotton was the only considerable export to China, and cost of transport limited its destination to points not more than 250 miles beyond the Chinese frontier. Since 1890 a British consular official has been stationed at Tengvueh and, for a time, at Szumao. These two places have offices of the Chinese Maritime Customs. During the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95 the overland trade with China received special impetus, the trade of that year reaching a total of Rs. 32 lakhs as compared with 22 lakhs the following year.²⁹

Perhaps the best-publicized attempt to construct a railway line from Burma to China was that promoted by Archibald R. Colquhoun, a Deputy Commissioner in British Burma and later special correspondent for the London *Times*, together with Holt S. Hallett, civil engineer and explorer. In 1879 Colquhoun was sent by the Government of India to Siam and the Shan state of Zimme (Burmese for Chiengmai). Later, in 1882, he traveled from Canton to Bhamo,³⁰ but he was prevented from making the actual survey of a line from Moulmein to Szumao by the refusal of the Government of Burma to give him leave. The route was surveyed by Hallett who covered 1,250 miles to

²⁷ See F. Colborne Baber, *Travels and Researches in the Interior of China*, reprinted from *Parliamentary Report, China*, No. 3, 1878.

²⁸ *Inner Burma Gazetteer*, Pt. I, I, 108.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, II, 465-6.

³⁰ See Archibald R. Colquhoun, *Across Chryse* (London, 1 :

Burma, Siam, and Yunnan, more than 700 miles having been made by elephant.³¹ Upon the close of the survey in 1884, Colquhoun met Hallett in Bangkok and the two presented the plan to the King of Siam as being of special advantage to that country. But the Colquhoun-Hallett railway plan suffered from a general suspicion that it would be used as means of "... taking the King of Siam by the hand and leading him into the great British Indian family."³² At any rate neither the King of Siam nor the Government of India would give further financial aid for the scheme. Colquhoun meantime resigned from Government service and went to China as a special correspondent for the *Times* and was there commissioned by Li Hung Chang to propose to Lord Dufferin that India and China be joined by telegraph across the Bhamo frontier. This connection was completed in 1895.

Colquhoun and Hallett unfortunately selected the route from Moulmein, across the Siamese frontier to Raheng, north along the slopes of the Menam basin to Szumao and Yunnan. While this route is actually the shortest practicable line from the Bay of Bengal to Yunnanfu, it passes through unproductive country, everywhere malarial below 4,000 feet, and of doubtful possibilities for trade. There is not today a railway which anywhere follows the Colquhoun-Hallett survey. The route for overland trade from Burma to Thailand does follow the line to Raheng, but it is passable only in the dry season. The principal argument for the line advocated by Sprye, Colquhoun, and Hallett, that it avoided chaotic independent Burma, lost its force after the annexation of 1886.³³

But the dream of a railway from Burma to China died hard in the nineteenth century. During the period 1894-1900 Major Davies, an experienced British official, made a remarkable series of surveys of Yunnan province and its possible railway routes. His book and map remain the most accurate available for the region. Over a period of six years Davies covered nearly 6,000 miles of road and trail in Yunnan during the course of three

³¹ Holt S. Hallett, *A Thousand Miles on an Elephant in the Shan States* (London, 1890).

³² Philippe Lehault, *La France et l'Angleterre en Asie* (Paris, 1872), 567.

³³ Colquhoun's great service to trans-Burma trade was his re-estimation of commercial opinion in its favor. His *Report on the Railway Connection of Burma and China* (London, 1887) is indispensable. He quotes evidence in favor of the route from some thirty British and Oriental Chambers of Commerce.

expeditions for the Government of India and two for the British Yunnan Company.³¹ Unhappily the final surveys for the projected railway across the province were lost when Captain W. A. Watt-Jones was killed by Boxers while making his way back towards Peking. However, we have available the survey from the Kunlong ferry, where an alternate route of the present Burma-Yunnan highway crosses the Salween, to the Yangtze at Suifu and Nachi Hsien, a distance of 1,000 miles of "exceedingly difficult country." Davies estimated a meter-gauge line to cost £20,000,000 and ten years' time in construction, and then promised only doubtful profits. Davies, however, urged construction of the line on both commercial and political grounds.³⁵ His view was supported by Lord Beresford, who wrote: "I believe this line will be found practicable."³⁰

On March 1, 1894, the entire problem of Sino-British trade via Burma was made the subject of treaty convention between the two powers.³⁷ Article VIII granted free overland trade for a term of six years after which the general tariff of the Maritime Customs would apply. Perhaps the most unusual feature of the treaty is contained in Article XII which permitted Chinese vessels to ply the Irrawaddy on the same terms as British vessels. There were other special considerations for promoting the trans-frontier trade. Shortly thereafter Article XII was amended by an agreement on China's part to connect any railway lines which she might construct in Yunnan province with the Burma Railways. On April 10, 1898, there was a further exchange of notes which protected Britain's interest in all Yunnan railway lines. Shortly after Britain initiated these Yunnan arrangements with China there was signed the Anglo-French agreement of June 1897, which made possible the construction of the French Yunnan railway and its connection—not yet effected—with the Burma Railways.³⁸

Meantime, the world scene changed, the *Entente cordiale*

³⁴ Davies took advantage of his Yunnan travels to prepare valuable reports on the frontier for the Indian Army Intelligence Branch. See his *Report (Confidential) on the Burma-China Boundary between the Taiping and the Shweli* (Rangoon, 1894) and *Report (Confidential) on the Part of Yunnan Between the Bhamo Frontier and the Salween* (Rangoon, 1896), in the University of California Library.

³⁵ See H. R. Davies, *Yunnan, the Link Between India and the Yangtze* (Cambridge, 1909). App. X has detailed itinerary with distances and elevations.

³⁶ Lord Charles Beresford, *The Break-up of China* (New York, 1899), 314.

³⁷ See Hertslet's *China Treaties* (London, 1908), I, 99-109, 327.

³⁸ MacMurray, *China Treaties, cit.*, I, 96.

put an end to Anglo-French rivalry in Siam and Yunnan.³⁹ The Anglo-French agreement of 1896 settled the question of the upper boundary of Siam, Burma, and Yunnan so far as Anglo-French rivalries were concerned. The French completed their railway to Yunnanfu in 1910 and abandoned their announced intention to build into Tali, which would have placed their line directly across the trade route to British Burma. Loath as most Englishmen were to admit it, trade decided that the natural approach to Yunnan was by way of Tonking.⁴⁰

For practical purposes the overland trade with China was of minor importance from 1900 until the beginning of the current Sino-Japanese hostilities. The Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, disappointed in the volume of trade to its stations near the frontier, made successive reductions in its services to Bhamo. The Burma Railways extended its lines to Mandalay, on to Lashio, and a branch up the Irrawaddy to Myitkyina through a malarial valley famed for sugar cane and teak, but leaving Bhamo some miles off the line. The Lashio line follows what is essentially the old Thenni trade route. Only the development of the huge Namtu and Bawdwin silver-lead workings, thirty miles from Lashio, enabled this line to show a profit. Freight on goods destined for China produced only a fractional share of its revenue. In 1936, the last normal year of Sino-Burmese trade, the total value of merchandise passing through Bhamo to western China was only Rs. 96,000 (U.S. \$32,000), less than one-half the amount of the previous year. In 1936 export of Pondicherry cotton yarn to Yunnan through Bhamo ceased entirely; since that date cotton goods for Yunnan have been shipped through French Indo-China.⁴¹ Statistics on the present (1940) trade to China through Bhamo and Lashio are not available. No public reports have been issued by the Chinese Government, which quite naturally does not call attention to its success in evading the Japanese blockade.

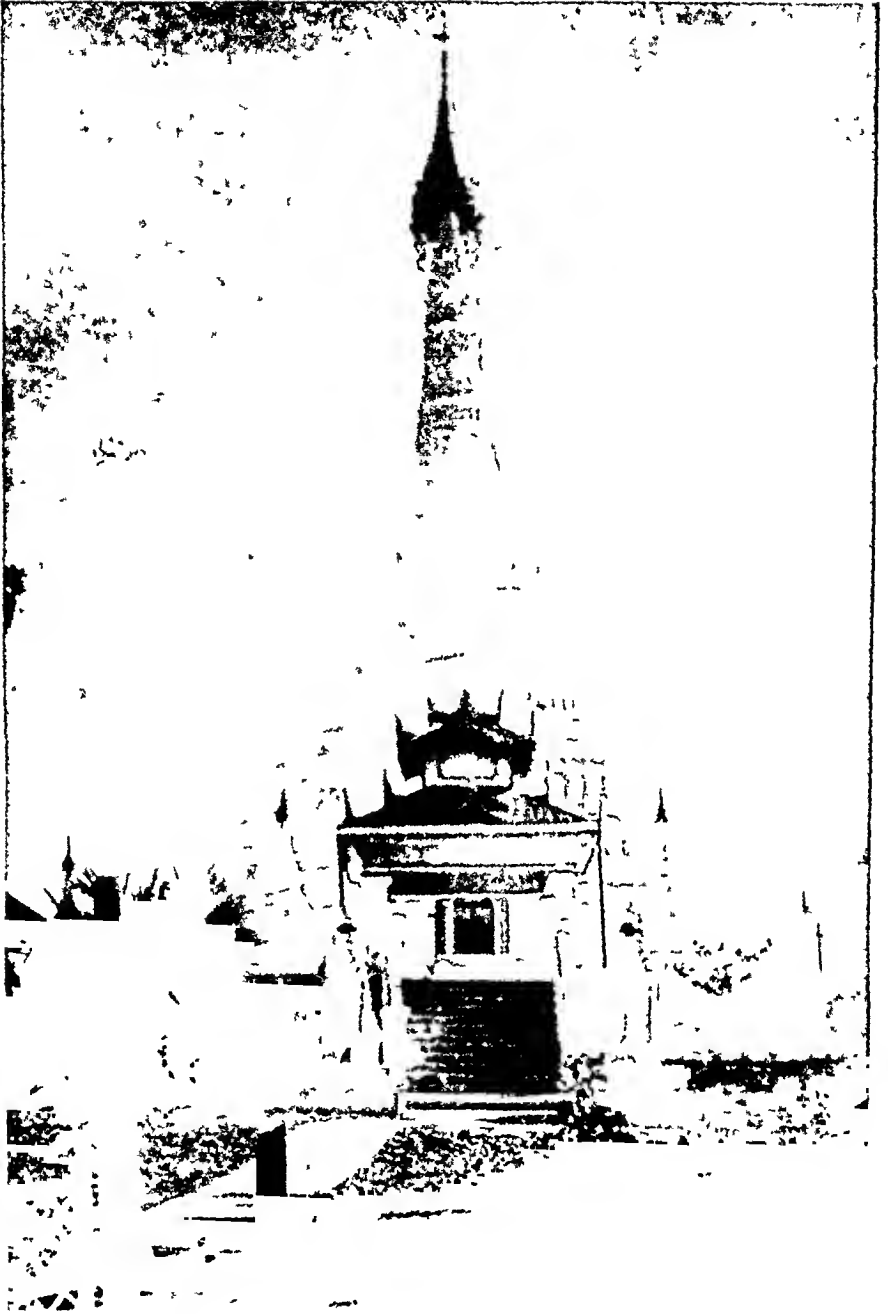
THE LASHIO-KUNMING HIGHWAY

Trans-Burma trade to China having proved disappointing in the period 1900-37, the Burma Railways abandoned all in-

³⁹ A detailed study of Anglo-French rivalry on the Upper Mekong in George Leighton La Fuzze, *Great Britain, France, and the Siam-China Frontier, 1880-1900*, unpublished doctoral dissertation in library of the University of Chicago, 1933.

⁴⁰ Clifford, *op. cit.*, 294. Quoted from Haber.

⁴¹ *Report on Administration of Burma, 1935-36* (Rangoon, 1937), 41.



A typical Burmese pagoda. A pair of "lions" or Chinthès seen in front, one male and one female, generally guard the approach to a pagoda.

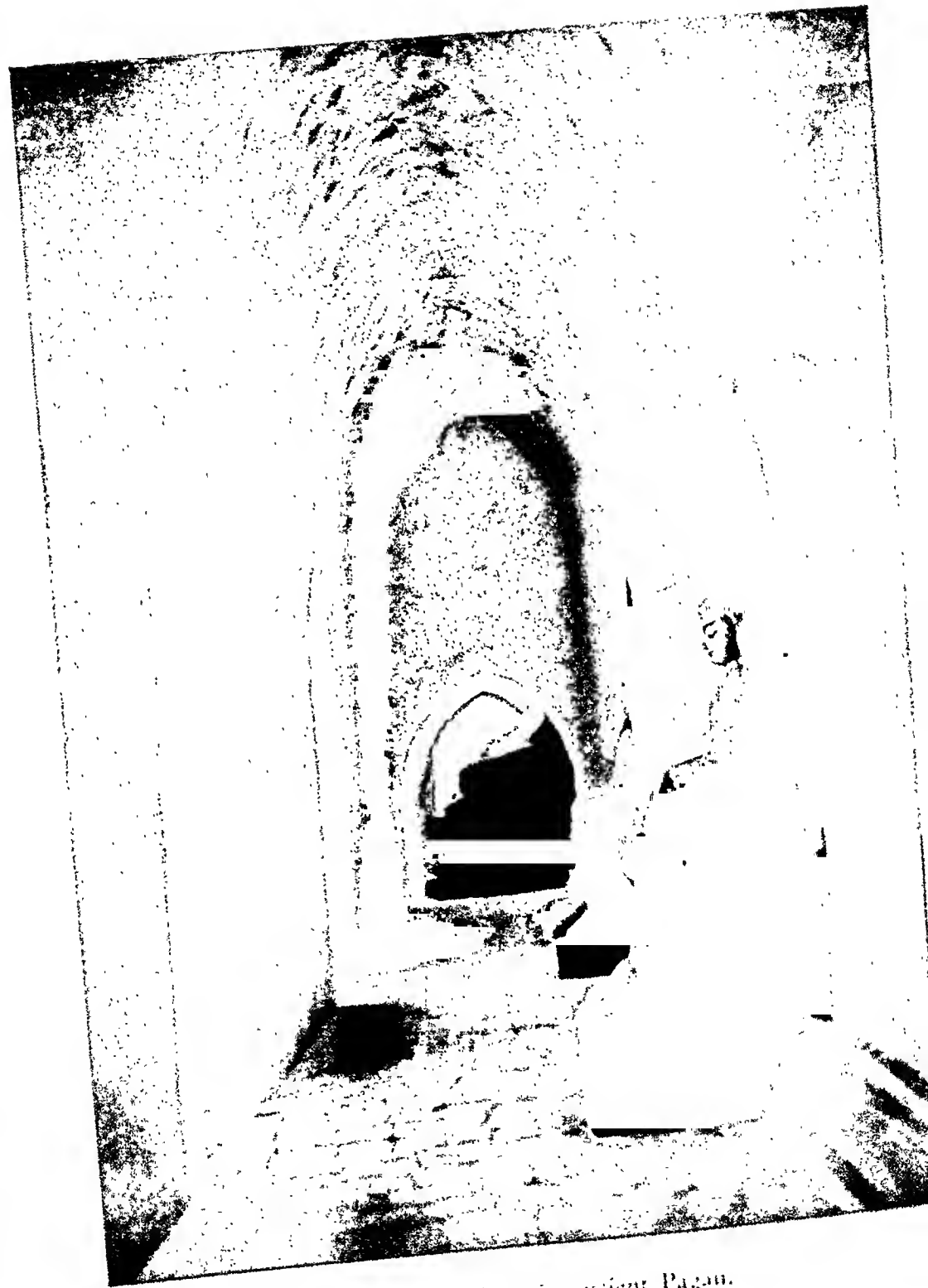


A pagoda cloister in ancient Pagan.

tentions of constructing its lines beyond Lashio to the Chinese frontier. It is believed in Burma that railway extension beyond Lashio was vetoed personally by Lord Curzon. The surveys were extended to the Kunlong ferry; some grading was done, but no steel was laid; instead highway construction suited to local traffic was undertaken. The Shweli was spanned with a 450-foot suspension bridge in 1936 and an existing all-weather motor road was improved from Lashio to Namkham, on the Chinese frontier, and on to Bhamo. There was some motor traffic across the border, but the entire region vegetated under the mellow glow of the *Pax Britannica*. The frontier area remained a delightful arcadia for tourists, but disappointing for traders. Even jade was no longer shipped along the ancient routes through Kwangsi but went by sea from Rangoon to Canton. Yunnan enjoyed a sort of India summer, well removed from the civil wars which distracted the remainder of China. Britain and France forgot Yunnan and their rivalry for its trade. In 1936 the British Consul-General in Yunnan warned Chiang Kai-shek that if Communist elements from that province should disturb Burma, Britain could not "continue her waiting attitude."⁴² But so far as Yunnan is concerned Britain has been content to wait since 1900.

The Marco Polo bridge incident of July 1937 did not at once disturb the ancient calm of China's southwest. Not until Japan's soldiers attacked Shanghai and her ships extended the blockade to China's southern ports did the Chinese Central Government awake to the possibilities of its Yunnan gateway. By late 1937, China began construction of her famed lifeline to the southwest. Construction of the road, under direction of the Yunnan-Burma Highway Bureau, faced difficulties from two sources: the terrain and the weather. All of Burma, and Yunnan south of Kunming, are subject to the alternate wet and dry seasons of a typical monsoon climate. Torrential rains begin in May and continue until mid-October. Part of the road receives as much as 200 inches of rain annually. During the open season from December 1937 to May 1938 the Chinese cut the roadbed from Hsiakwan near Tali to the Sino-Burmese border at Wanting near Namkham and opened the entire distance of nearly 750 miles from Kunming to Lashio to traffic of sorts. Actually sections of this

⁴² *Trans-Pacific Magazine*, XXIV (April 1936), 9,



A pagoda cloister in ancient Pagan.

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⁴² *Trans-Pacific Magazine*, XXIV (April 1936), 9,

road have been open for several years. All-weather traffic from Lashio to the Chinese frontier has been possible since 1920. The Kunming-Tali section was macadamized in 1933 and other sectors have been usable for lorries in the dry season, but the immensely difficult problem of getting motor traffic across the Salween and Mekong valleys was solved within a year. A writer in the London *Times* said, "Only the Chinese could have done it as well in the time."⁴³

Actual construction was directed by Chinese engineers who had available a grant of Ch.\$2,500,000 from the Central Government and \$500,000 from the Yunnan Provincial Government. Much of the labor was provided by the *corvée*, and estimates of the number of men employed vary from 150,000 to 350,000. Perhaps 30,000 men are constantly at work with maintenance and improvement of the surface, which was described at first as "teeth-loosening." Work progressed on installation of stone gutters, retaining walls, culverts and other means of keeping the road open during the rains. Practically all work was done with hand tools, and the surface was rolled with huge stone rollers fashioned by hammer and chisel from a single block of stone. The highway was opened officially on January 10, 1939.⁴⁴

The big problem has been to make the road stand up under heavy usage during the rains. From its opening until the end of 1940 the only important interruption of traffic due to weather occurred during 1939 when heavy rains stopped transport for ten days. Slides carried away a part of the highway leading into the Mekong canyon. Traffic on the Chinese portion of the Burma highway has been principally under the control of the Southwest Transportation Company. Mr. T. L. Soong, one of its directors and brother of Mr. T. V. Soong, gave an interview to the Rangoon *Times* while in Rangoon on June 23, 1939, in which he detailed the company's operation with its fleet of several thousand American trucks carrying munitions into China and tung oil, bristles, hides and skins out to Burma for shipment to world markets.⁴⁵ The usual time from Kunming to the Burmese frontier is five days, but an American doctor in Nan-

⁴³ For articles, photographs, and a map of the new road, see the *London Times* for May 17, 18, 19, 1938.

⁴⁴ Several popular accounts of the road are available, including *Southwest China* by E. H. (New York, 1940); *China's New Road* by E. H. (London, 1939).

⁴⁵ Rangoon *Times*, June 24, 1939.

kham accomplished the trip in three days and former United States Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson did as well in the spring of 1939.

During the first year daytime traffic for lorries beyond the 105th mile out of Lashio was prohibited. For private cars the entire route was open. Modern steel cable suspension bridges spanned the Mekong and the Salween in place of the chain bridges that were noted by early European travelers in the area. As a matter of fact traffic is not restricted to one route except over the section which crosses the river gorges. The principal route passes one hundred miles south of Tengyueh, but the alternate route to Bhamo passes through the ancient town. Likewise on the Burma side, the Chinese frontier can be reached at Namkham, at Muse, and beyond the Kunlong ferry to which the Burma railway has been surveyed. Then there is the longer route to Keng Tung. And further to the north, there is some traffic from the Myitkyina railroad. As early as 1875 thirteen groups of routes across the Burmese frontier to China were noted.⁴⁶

Not content with highway connection to Burma, the Chinese were reported to have begun construction of a railway to the south. It was at first asserted that a meter-gauge line would be in operation by July 1940 from Kunming to Tsuyung, one-third the distance to Talifu. It was stated later that the Chinese Government had ordered the completion during 1940 of a line with a gauge of $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches from Tsuyung to the Burma border. Although some work was done on the roadbed west of Kunming, and it was rumored that rails from the French Yunnan line would be used, it was considered unlikely that any steel would be laid toward Burma. The Chinese asserted that railway construction toward Burma began in 1940. Chinese engineers estimated the cost of a line to Burma at £4,000,000 on the China side, there being nearly two hundred tunnels on the proposed route. It was expected that the reduced-gauge line would handle three hundred tons of freight per day, a quantity that was not surpassed in normal times by the French Yunnan Railway. Upon suspension of the shipment of war supplies, in-

⁴⁶ J. Coryton, "Trade Routes between British Burma and Western China," *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society*, XLV (1875), 229-49. Only the Lashio and Bhamo routes are in extensive use today, the former being the principal gateway to China from Burma.

cluding railway materials, through French Indo-China, railway construction in Yunnan was abandoned temporarily.⁴⁷ War conditions in both Europe and the Orient have made railway construction and operation in interior China extremely difficult if not impossible.

These various reports current during late 1940 and early 1941 were indicative of the importance attached by the Chinese Government to the maintenance of the Yunnan corridor. It was reported that when the French closed the Hanoi-Yunnan line in June 1940, the Chinese began demolition of the line on their side of the frontier, and that the rails were taken up and transported into the interior for use in the construction of a line toward Burma. The practical difficulties of railway construction in war time, added to the problems of importing or constructing rolling stock, railway steel and similar materials, made it highly improbable that any important progress on a Kunming-Chefang line could be expected before the end of the war. These problems were, in fact, more difficult than the matter of cost and financing of the proposed line.

Within six months after construction began on the new highway, the British steamer *Stanhall* left Odessa with 6,000 tons of Russian arms and ammunition destined for China via Rangoon. In November 1938 the steamer unloaded its cargo for shipment to Lashio by rail and within thirty days thereafter five additional steamers bringing munitions for China discharged their cargoes for transit over the Burma road. Immediately the Burmese nationalist *Myochit* party protested to the Governor of Burma, Sir Archibald Douglas Cochrane, on the danger to Burma of involvement in the Sino-Japanese conflict, and when four additional steamers brought military stores consigned to the Chinese Government these munitions were shipped up to Bhamo by river steamer rather than by the state-owned railways.⁴⁸ Rail shipments were later resumed, the traffic being divided between trains and boats.

News of the transport of five cargoes of war supplies, including planes and anti-aircraft guns, to China via Rangoon created a sensation in Tokyo. Even before the arrival of the first mun-

⁴⁷ See Cheng Ch'eng-k'un, 'China's Reconstruction in Yunnan Province', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (July 1940), 237-42. Actually, the French and the Japanese did not take it at all, while Chinese, French, and American efforts were concentrated on the construction of the new strategic line after the war broke out in 1937. See also *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Nov. 24, 1940.

⁴⁸ *Rangoon Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1938.

tions, the *Japan Chronicle* carried an account of the traffic to China through Burma and reported a project for a railway from Myitkyina to Yunnan.⁴⁹ In the summer of 1938 a Japanese consular official in Rangoon was quoted in the Burmese press as saying that the new highway would be bombed if it were used as an artery for munitions. He warned that some of the bombs might fall on the wrong side of the frontier and that the Japanese Government paid no compensation for such accidents.⁵⁰ Some Burmese nationalists, despite general sympathy for China's cause, have become increasingly hostile to the new highway. Observers in Burma have suspected that ardent opponents of the road were in Japanese pay inasmuch as most business men in Burma favor the highway as improving trade and communications in the country. Some fear, perhaps without good reason that it may be the means of involving Burma in the present Asiatic conflict and that it will provide an easy entrance for Chinese immigrants when peace comes again in the East. The average Burman cultivator takes little interest in the highway itself inasmuch as it begins at Lashio in the northern Shan states far away from the little world of the Burmese villager. Burmese nationalists, like those of Thailand, have steadily opposed railway connection with either China or India, fearing absorption by more powerful neighbors. But by April 1941, it was announced that the British and Burmese governments had agreed to extend the Lashio line to the Chinese frontier.

Air traffic increased China and the outside world through Burma. The Government of Burma established airdromes at Lashio, at Namkham on the frontier, and landing fields at Bhamo and Myitkyina. On January 25, 1939, the Chiang Kai-shek government, acting through the Chinese National Aviation Corporation, authorized the connection of Chungking, Kunming, and Rangoon, where service is integrated with that of the Imperial Airways to Europe and Singapore. The first plane in this service reached Mingaladon, Rangoon's airport, on February 22, 1939, having flown from Chungking in ten hours with stops at Kunming and Lashio. From July 15, 1940, Rangoon newspapers advertised an improved service to Kunming and Chungking by Douglas DC2 planes each Monday with fares Rs. 334 to Kunming and Rs. 454 to Chungking.

⁴⁹ *Japan Chronicle*, June 16, 1938.

⁵⁰ *Christian Science Monitor Magazine*, September 23, 1938.

While one should not venture to say that the Japanese cannot seize the Burma highway by force of arms, to do so would be an extremely arduous task. Their bombers have visited Kunming, but the closure of the Burma highway and of the French railway during the summer of 1940 was not caused by air attacks. Any flanking attack overland from the south to reach the Burma road is almost unthinkable. To reach it from Canton or Pakhoi, without use of the railway, would be a march of a thousand miles through territory that cost the French railway company forty per cent of its labor through malaria deaths in one year, across the most difficult terrain in China proper, most of it virtually without roads or navigable waterways. To attempt it, Japan must first control Hunan, Kweichow, and Kwangsi, or find another approach from the south. This she did by the seizure of Singapore and Rangoon.

At any rate, the highway provided at the turn of the decade China's most vital and profitable window to the outside world. It was fundamentally more useful than the old "silk road" through Turkestan.⁵¹ The great advantage of the Burma road lay in its distance from Japanese-held territory, its relative invulnerability to attack, and the fact that it leads to the Indian Ocean away from areas of probable naval action. Actually, freight rates were excessive and the quantity of goods that was delivered by this route to Chungking has been disappointing. Despite the absence of reliable data, it is believed that the clandestine trade through the Chekiang corridor and through the smaller Chinese ports in Fukien and Kwangtung has been quantitatively more important and economically less expensive, particularly in the case of petroleum products. In support of this view, the Japanese have taken vigorous measures to keep the coastal provinces under constant blockade whereas their air raids on the Chinese section of the Burma road have been intermittent. The new road is in all respects no mean achievement, valuable now as an emergency measure, certain to remain as an avenue of commerce and travel. In the Orient, however, opinion has been divided as to the usefulness of the Burma-Yunnan highway. F. Burton Leach, formerly Chief Secretary to the

⁵¹ The arrival of 100 trucks loaded with Chinese goods and the departure of 100 more vehicles on the Yunnan-Lanchow route have been reported. This is the first time anything reported from the Chinese side and is probably not a reliable source. North China Star, Tientsin, October 26, 1940. For a more detailed account of the Lanchow route see New York Times, December 21, 1940.

Government of Burma and well known for his knowledge of Burma's commercial problems, is somewhat skeptical of its ultimate value.⁵² Comparable views were expressed in an engineering journal which described the road as having been at one time "a miracle of inefficiency."⁵³ A traveler in 1939 repeated the rumor that an "average of three trucks daily are wrecked along the road."⁵⁴ Perhaps new highways and railways may yet serve Britain with a direct route to interior China, thus enabling her to reduce transportation costs and meet competition from the nation whose New Order called the road into being.

Despite the fact that a truck following the road has been likened to an ant crawling laterally across a sheet of corrugated iron, the highway already bears sufficient traffic to supply vital war commodities, while exports passing southward supply much of the needed foreign exchange for China's war purchases. Naturally, there was keen disappointment in Chungking when Britain closed the road to the transit of war materials for three months from July 18, 1940.

During the closure of the road from July to October 1940, the governments of both China and Burma made extensive improvements to the roadbed of their respective sections of the highway. But the Chinese failed to rectify certain faulty administrative and technical features of traffic over the road. Consequently when the road was reopened a serious bottleneck in freight movements was experienced. So serious have these defects become that commodities destined for interior China sought in many cases, various clandestine channels rather than attempt to utilize the Burma highway. On their side, the Rangoon port authorities, the Burma Railways, the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, and officers in the northern Shan states provided every facility for economical and speedy transport of goods to the Chinese frontier. In view of the stringent Japanese blockade, already mentioned, the Burma highway during 1940 and 1941 acquired renewed strategic and political importance. Chungking authorities estimated that the maximum capacity of the Burma highway, were it used day and night, was about

⁵² F. Burton Leach, "Burma and Her Land Communications," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXVII (January 1940), 8-21.

⁵³ C. A. Middleton Smith, "The Burma-Yunnan Road," *The Far Eastern Review*, XXXV (February 1939), 59-63.

⁵⁴ Nicol Smith, *op. cit.*, 264.

30,000 tons per month. It was estimated that only some 3,000 tons per month actually reached Chungking and many foreign observers regarded even this figure as an exaggeration. Following the reopening of the Burma highway in October 1940, the Japanese claimed the destruction of the bridges over the Mekong and the Salween as a result of air attacks; this was denied by Chinese sources which naturally refrained from clarifying the picture for the benefit of their enemies. Foreign observers reported, however, that the bridges were destroyed or badly damaged but that the Chinese put into operation an efficient system of ferry boats.

In February 1941, the Chinese Government announced the formation of a Burma Highway Commission in an effort to realize capacity traffic over the artery. Under the chairmanship of an American, Dr. John Earl Baker, the Commission was expected to centralize under one authority responsibility for highway construction and repair, schedule fixing, motor vehicle operation and repair, fuel dumps, medical care (including protection against malaria), hostel facilities for drivers, and the training of truck drivers and mechanics. With its American chairman, and with a Chinese vice-chairman and commissioners representing the Governments of Burma and Nationalist China, the formation of the Commission gave further evidence of the importance of the Burma road in international politics.

With the increased tempo of war in the East has come wide recognition of the international importance of the Burma Road. This highway did not, however, perform a really vital function for Free China and the democracies until after its reopening in October 1940. Disappointment over the freight-carrying capacity of the highway was particularly evident in Chungking during the first dry season after the reopening of the road. This sentiment was quite apparent in February 1941 when Mr. Lauchlin Currie visited China as President Roosevelt's personal representative with special reference to Lease-Lend aid to China. He recommended that a single agency be placed in complete charge of the road with executive and military police powers. In the spring of 1941, the Chungking government requested Dr. John Earl Baker, formerly director of the American Red Cross in China, to assume control of the highway under somewhat indefinite terms. Actual administration of the highway was vested in General Yu Fei-peng, head of the Department of Military

Transport, with Dr. Baker as Inspector-General, having headquarters first at Kunming but later in Chungking with the Transport Control Board. Baker was not long in control as the Chinese took over the management entirely.

It became apparent, largely as a result of the Currie mission to China, that conditions were far from satisfactory on the Burma Road, a situation that caused grave concern abroad particularly in the United States which had embarked upon a policy of supplying Lend-Lease aid to China. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Mr. Currie came to mutual agreement with respect to the need for expert advice on the Burma Road, and the Generalissimo requested American assistance. This request, directed to President Roosevelt through Mr. Harry Hopkins, resulted in the appointment of the widely publicized Arnstein commission composed of Daniel Arnstein, New York trucking transportation expert, and Harold S. Davis and Marco Hellman, all specialists in motor transportation.

Arnstein reached Burma in July 1941 and completed within a month a thorough inspection of the highway and its administration. The resultant "Arnstein Report" urged highly centralized control of all facilities and agencies having any connection with the highway on the China side. Arnstein's report commended operations on the Burma end of the highway, including operations in the Port of Rangoon, the Burma Railways, and the Lashio control office. Curiously enough, examination of Arnstein's official report (not yet made public) fails to reveal any mention of the famed 1% transit tax charged by the Government of Burma on goods destined for China. Chungking was released from this tax, to which the Arnstein commission made fervent public objection, and a reduced tonnage tax was paid by the British Government to Burma following U Saw's charge that receipts from the transit charge were not sufficient to reimburse Burma for expenses incurred in port facilities, increased police and customs staffs, and other incidentals resultant from the Burma Road. Burma's Prime Minister declared, moreover, that Burma had received no payment of transit tax on Lease-Lend supplied for China. Arnstein praised Burmese drivers in service all along the highway.

Burma's transportation facilities proved quite equal to traffic demands of the highway, at any rate until the beginning of 1942. The Irrawaddy was utilized by the Asiatic Petroleum

Company and the Burma Oil Company to transport some 20,000 gallons of gasoline daily to Bhamo from where it is trucked to Wanting and Paoshan, across the China frontier. Rangoon's port facilities were in excellent condition, having handled more than 8,500,000 tons of cargo per year for the past decade. Likewise the Burma Railways in 1929 handled 5,500,000 tons of freight and have been supplied with enlarged and improved equipment since that date. Certainly the traffic of the Burma Road accounted for less than 5 per cent of the total volume handled in Rangoon and on the Burma Railways, and it is inconceivable, even should this be doubled, that it would cause any considerable disruption of normal operations in Rangoon harbor. The question is discussed in detail in an article "Freight to the Burma Road" (Amerasia, July 1941, 224-227). By November 1941, authoritative sources in Chungking declared China would be disposed to consider suggestion for placing the Burma Road entirely under American direction and control. American engineers meantime urged construction of a 700 mile pipeline along the highway from Burma refineries, and other engineers urged a hard surface for the road, part of which was supplied from 10,000 tons of Lease-Lend asphalt delivered to China. British engineers have tarred most of the highway from Lashio to the Chinese frontier and began construction of two additional truck routes into Lashio for use in the event of bombing of the great Goteik bridge on the Burma Railway.

According to the most reliable information available (the Arnstein Report) 6,000 tons of freight arrived in Kunming in June 1941, over the highway while 17,000 tons crossed the Burma frontier at Wanting. During the same month about 60,000 tons were stored in Rangoon godowns and another 80,000 tons at points along the highway from Rangoon to Hsiukwan. Of the amount in Rangoon, approximately 24,000 tons was "dead storage," principally railway equipment and machinery transferred from Hongkong and Haiphong and too heavy or bulky for transport over the highway, but awaiting eventual shipment over the Yunnan-Burma railway now under construction. Shipments of goods to Rangoon, and receipts at Kunming, increased considerably after July 1941, but it is doubtful if the goal of 400,000 tons per month from Rangoon to Kunming was reached prior to January 1942.

Of considerable significance also was the construction of the

Burma-Yunnan railway following a route surveyed early in the century. Various railway proposals have been under consideration since 1938 in extension of the Burma railways from Lashio to Kunming. Earlier plans for a narrow gauge line were abandoned and Dr. H. H. Kung, Chinese Finance Minister, began negotiation in March 1938 for formation of an Anglo-Chinese railway syndicate. Eventually this plan was merged with American Lease-Lend aid after construction was begun on Christmas Day, 1938, but little progress was made before the dry season of 1941. On the Yunnan side the line was reported to be opened at Kutsing, 185 km. from Kunming, July 1, 1941, and another line westward 30 km. from Kunming to Anning was opened in January 1942. The government of Burma declined to obligate funds for its share of the construction; consequently the 110-mile line from Lashio to the Chinese frontier was underwritten by the British home government at a cost of some U. S. \$8,000,000 subject to Burma having the option of purchase at a later date. The Chinese section, approximately 530 miles long, was scheduled to cost not less than U. S. \$16,000,000. Construction of the road-bed was well advanced at the beginning of 1942, and was about 75 per cent complete when the Japanese reached Lashio.

Late in 1941, at the request of the Chinese Government and with the approval of the State Department, Surgeon-General Thomas Parran of the United States Public Health Service appointed a Lease-Lend medical commission of sixteen specialists for service along the Burma Road and the projected Burma-Yunnan railway. Under the leadership of Dr. Victor H. Haas, and composed of sanitation experts and malariologists, the commission reached Rangoon during the week of December 7. Meantime, some 350 American pilots and mechanics began defending the highway from the air as members of an international air force, while a similar number of expert mechanics, maintenance men, dispatchers and other personnel experienced in large scale motor transport, took their places at strategic spots along the highway. Meantime, a truck trail has been constructed along the line of the new railway from Lashio past the Kunlong ferry over the Salween, to the recently demarcated China boundary. One of the last frontier railroads in the world, the Lashio-Kunming line, when completed, may achieve the century-old goal of a short route to interior China and assure Rangoon's position as the premier port of southern Asia.

A special correspondent for the London *Times* concluded his description of the highway by observing: "The Burma road is at present a dark horse; but it is hardly conceivable that it will turn out to be a white elephant."⁵⁵

⁵⁵ The closing of the road is discussed herein under the section on Japan and Burma. Recent authoritative accounts of the road with maps, contour profiles, and photographs are Leach, *loc. cit.*, Patrick Fitzgerald, "The Yunnan-Burma Road," *The Geographical Journal*, XCV (March 1940), 161-74; Lowe Chuan-hua, "The Yunnan-Burma Highway in Its Second Year," *Amerasia*, IV (September 1940), 331-5; Frank Outram and G. E. Fane, "Burma Road, Back Door to China," *National Geographic Magazine*, LXVIII (November 1940), 629-58; and Eileen Bigland, *Into China* (London, 1940). *Into China*, inaccurate and grossly unjust to the Burmese, particularly the Buddhist priesthood, was proscribed by the Governor of Burma in December 1940.

CHAPTER XIII

NATIONALISM, POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT SINCE 1937

NATIONALISM

Renascent nationalism in Burma has presented unfamiliar problems for the administration. As late as 1910 a Governor of Burma stated his opinion that there was at that time little political consciousness in Burma; other observers have indicated that Burmese nationalism made its appearance about the time of the Russo-Japanese War. Although many Burmans look back to King Mindon's reign with pride, the personal fate of King Theebaw aroused little sympathy, and it seems that there was little true patriotism among the masses under the old regime. Following the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, the general unrest incident to pacification spread to lower Burma where organized dacoity and resistance to the Government persisted until the end of the decade, particularly in the Irrawaddy and Pegu Divisions. There were undoubtedly elements of true nationalist spirit in these disturbances, but competent observers have indicated that the demonstrations were organized principally by those who hoped to profit from crime and looting. In fact, during the two decades before the end of Burmese independence, emigration from chaotic and oppressive native Burma to the security of life and property in British Burma grew to such alarming proportions that it was forbidden entirely by Theebaw's government. After the Annexation Britain exiled Theebaw as a precautionary measure. The Limbin Prince, an illegitimate son of Mindon's brother, who had been placed at the head of a confederacy of Shan chiefs who began organized rebellion against Theebaw before the British occupation of Mandalay, was likewise placed in custody for a time. Sir Charles Crosthwaite said of him, "He was totally incompetent of leading anyone."¹

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¹ Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*, 241.

former royal family has contributed greatly to the rise of nationalism. However, during the Burma Round Table Conference, a Burmese delegate reminded the British president of strong nationalist memories in the country based upon the fact that only forty-six years previously there had been an independent Burma while their queen (Supayalat) had died in Rangoon as recently as 1925.² The Government of Burma has been generous in providing pensions for relatives and descendants of Theebaw; his youngest daughter was living on a pension in Ratnagiri as recently as April, 1944. Only one distant relative of the former royal family has taken any active part in the nationalist movement: Prince Hteik Tin Wa was for a time President of the General Council of Burmese Associations which attempted unsuccessfully to prevent formation of a ministry under the new constitution.³ Little has been heard of him since, although it was rumored that he was connected with the short-lived extremist Swastika Party. Taik Tin Pyu, O.B.E., a grand-nephew of King Mindon, was a member of the Burma Senate in 1940. The Japanese have made no effort to reestablish the Alaungpaya dynasty as puppet rulers in Burma. In fact the wholesale murder of the royal relatives under Theebaw virtually extinguished the line and made restoration almost impossible.

During the World War, Burma's loyalty to the Empire was unquestioned, and no nationalist movement threatened to take advantage of Britain's engagement elsewhere. Following the Reforms of 1922, Wunthanu nationalist organizations were formed, and there was a rising demand for a greater share in local and provincial government. As a result of a remarkable student movement that extended to all parts of the province in protest to mission-controlled and Government-aided schools, National schools were organized and did their share in fostering the growing pride in race and country. At first these schools were independently organized and supported and closely allied with nationalist religious traditions, but in recent years they have been Government aided and differ little from the ordinary Anglo-vernacular schools. By successive stages Burmese participation in municipal, local, and national government was provided by law. Burmans were associated with the highest

² *Cm. J.* 4034.

³ *Rangoon Gazette*, November 11, 1936.

branches of the administration, and U Tin Tut was in 1922 the first Burman admitted to the sacrosanct Indian Civil Service.

When Sir Charles Innes went on leave in 1930, Sir Joseph Augustus Maung Gyi, who had been in the Siamese Government service before becoming an official in Burma, officiated as Governor of Burma. Burmans were pleased at this first appointment of a native son as acting Governor. There was much dissatisfaction when Sir Archibald Cochrane nominated a senior British official, Sir Walter Booth-Gravely, to officiate while he went on leave in 1939. The nationalist U Saw cabled Prime Minister Chamberlain, opposing the appointment on the grounds of its unpopularity with Burmans.⁴ Similar in nature to this incident was the action of Sir Hugh Stephenson in declining to remove a Britisher, Sir Oscar de Glanville, from the presidency of the Legislative Council solely in response to objections from nationalists.⁵ Under the new constitution, the House of Representatives has the power of election and removal of its President without consent of the Governor. Another dispute of long standing is the question of official language in the Legislature. Some Burmese nationalists, although well acquainted with English, insist upon using Burmese in a House of Representatives that is composed of members of many races including Karens, Chinese, Indians, Chins, and Europeans. Upon reference to the Secretary of State in London it was determined that English should continue as the official language. Members unacquainted with English are always entitled to speak in Burmese.⁶

Burmese nationalism has found expression in many curious ways. For reasons of religion or nationalism—it is frequently difficult to differentiate between the two—many Burmans objected to pictures of pagodas on new Burma stamps. Another evidence of rising nationalism was the Burmese request that Rangoon streets be renamed in accordance with national traditions. Thus Voyle Road, named for Lieutenant Voyle who was killed leading the British attack on the Shwedagon Pagoda during the war of 1824, became U Wisara Road; Fytche Square became Bundoola Square, and in 1940 the Government voted

⁴ *Time and Tide*, XX (April 8, 1939), 439.

⁵ See Chapter VI.

⁶ The debate on the language question was reported in the *Rangoon Gazette*, March 1, 1937.

to erect a statue of Bundoola (the national hero killed in the first Anglo-Burmese war) in Dalhousie Street, Rangoon. Rangoon Corporation declined to change Dalhousie Park, Edward Street, Crisp Street, Godwin Road, Phayre Street, names which commemorate Britishers prominent in the history of the Anglo-Burmese connection, to names more agreeable to Burmese nationalists.⁷ Considerable satisfaction was expressed over the erection of the Rangoon Corporation building (city hall), the first large public building constructed from designs which employed modified elements of Burmese architecture. Under the new constitutional government, the Government of Burma in 1938 announced its decision to abandon the annual move of the Government departments to Maymyo, the capital during the hot weather. Burmese nationalists have for years protested this annual trek as an unnecessary expense undertaken only to give Europeans the advantage of a cool climate.

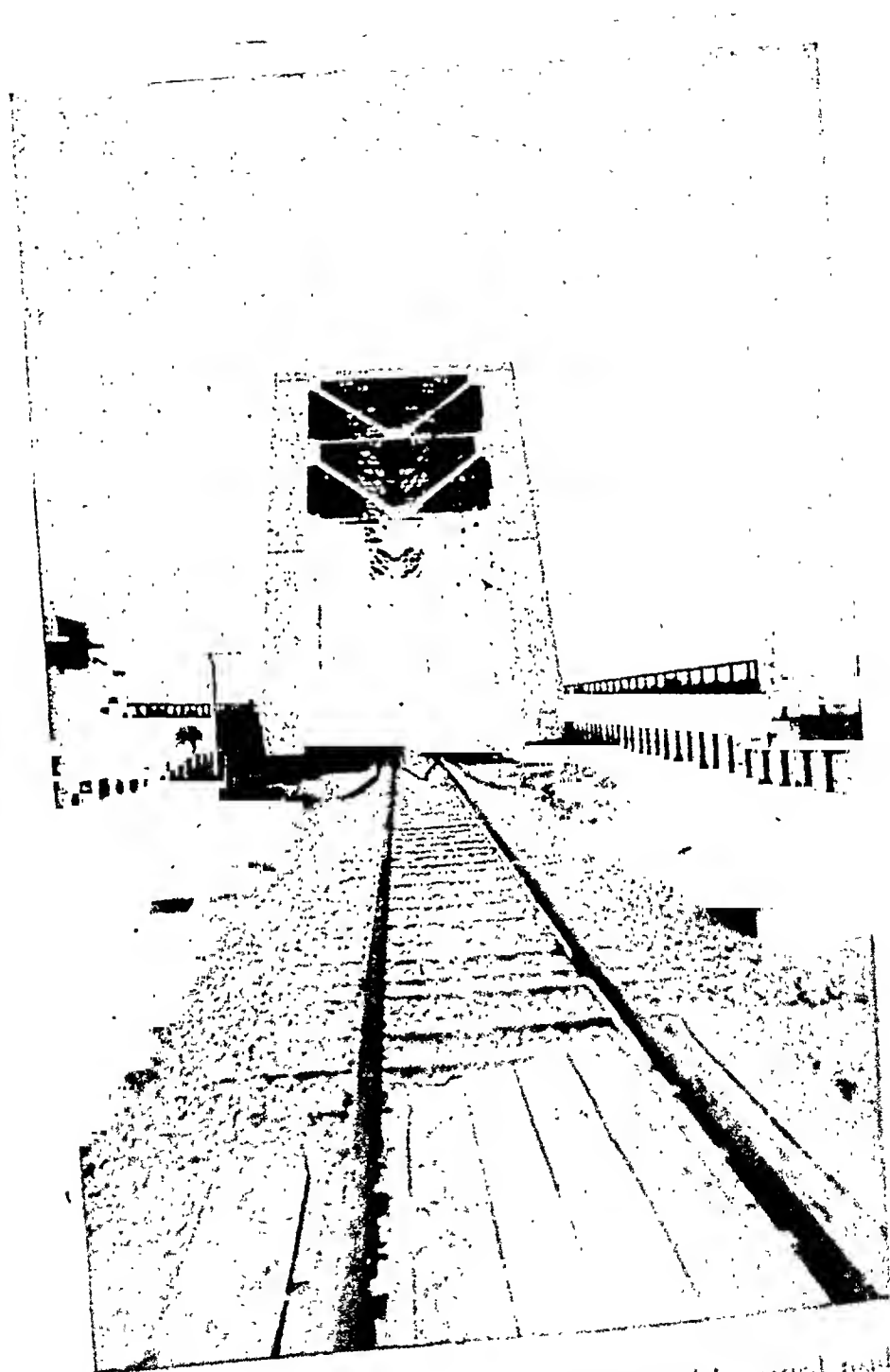
To please the Burmese sense of nationalism, the Government of Burma announced in July 1940 that Indian titles such as K.I.H., K.C.S.I., C.I.E. would be replaced by special awards for Burma. Within a month during midsummer 1940, there were two serious wrecks on the main line of the Burma Railways between Rangoon and Mandalay. Although these disasters were traced clearly to sabotage, it was believed that the motive was robbery rather than political demonstration. During 1937 Burmese nationalists refused passage of a bill to transform part of the Burma Military Police into the Burma Frontier Force. Although the bill provided for the enlistment of Burmans and the adoption of Burmese military nomenclature, it was defeated by the Legislature which demanded immediate and complete Burmanization of the force. As a result the bill became the Burma Frontier Force Act, 1937, the first and only measure enacted by the Governor under the special powers granted him by Section 43 of the Government of Burma Act, 1935. As provided for in the Act, a full report of the incident was made to Parliament.⁸ In general, the official attitude has been that of Mr. Furnivall, that Burmese nationalism was "morally right." The problem has been to deal with the extreme views and methods adopted by inexperienced and demagogic political opportunists. To the credit of Burmese nationalists there have

⁷ *IBL*, June 5, 1943.

⁸ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1936-37, XX.



A Sikh looks at an image of the Lord Buddha, who is here represented in the "earth-touching" attitude by which he called Mother Earth to witness his Enlightenment.



The great Ava bridge, completed in 1935, which carried road and rail traffic over the Irrawaddy near Mandalay.

been in the country no political assassinations and few attempts at violence such as have characterized the extremist movement in India. Despite the visits of Gandhi, Nehru, and other Indian nationalists to Burma, only recently there had been a marked tendency for Burmese politicians to adopt the ideas and methods of the Congress Party. However, due to a century of Indian government, the internal problems of Burma are for the most part the same as the problems of India.

Burmese nationalists have objected to certain policies in British administration of the country. For example, British companies have secured quasi-monopolies in the oil, river and ocean shipping, timber, mining, and rice-exporting industries. However, these monopolies were secured not as the result of deliberate governmental policy but by the same combination of initiative and manipulation to force out competition that is known to business the world over where competition remains an element in private trade. Likewise, there is an understandable general policy to "Buy British" and "Travel British" where contracts for Government stores and official travel are concerned. Ordinarily, posts in Government services are reserved for British subjects. However, it is not always realized that the same general policy is followed by all nations, and in many instances much more rigidly than by the Government of India or Burma since separation. American Government service likewise is reserved, except in most exceptional cases, for American citizens who alone are eligible to take civil service examinations for entry to the federal service in the United States. The same is true of most state and municipal services. Possibly these criticisms are applicable to the subtle ways in which imperialism, economic or political, wherever found, makes the colonial connection profitable. They certainly are not restricted to the British record in Burma.

There have been evidences of the development of a Nazi complex among Burmese extremists. On several occasions nationalist leaders have in public or private expressed admiration for the Hitlerian system, probably with only a vague understanding of the aims and methods of totalitarianism. This manifestation sprang from anti-British sentiments. The Nazis are opposed to the British: therefore the opponents of British power in Burma profess in some instances to be Nazis. During the decade 1925-35 the Soviet system was admired sons, and some Burmese nationalists claimed t

During 1940 communism was replaced by totalitarianism as a rallying ground for the intellectuals and theorists among the anti-British elements.

Dr. Ba Maw and U Saw as well as the *Thakin* party formed their private armies. In the case of U Saw, his dictator complex became evident in 1938 when he organized his own army known as the *Galon tat*. The *Thakins* soon fell into two main groups led by Aung San and Ba Sein. Aung San fled to Japan in 1940 to avoid arrest for sedition, and Ba Sein was arrested in the same year while attempting to make his way to Thailand. Aung San later turned up with the Japanese as a full-blown "Major-General." Ba Sein also has appeared in a military capacity. The *Thakin* army, the *Bama Letyon tat*, was never fully trusted by the Japanese. Ba Maw's *Dahma tat* has disappeared or has been incorporated with later organizations. The total number of the ranks of these political armies was probably not more than 4,000. They subsided when the Japanese invasion occurred. The nucleus of the Burma Independence Army which assisted the Japanese invasion had been organized in Japan and Thailand. Its members were recruited in Burma quite independently of these private armies, although recruited from much the same sources.

Both Burmese and Indian nationalists have regretted that the Haji Coastal Reservation Bill, introduced into the Indian Legislative Assembly by S. N. Haji, President of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, failed to pass. The bill had as its object the reservation of the Indian coastal and Indo-Burma runs to ships of Indian registry. It has been alleged that fear of enactment of the bill by India with consequent elimination of British companies from the profitable trade across the Bay of Bengal was a leading factor in causing Great Britain to advocate separation of Burma from India. At present the intercoastal and Indo-Burma services are reserved for ships of British or Indian registry; by comparison America reserves the Hawaiian-California run to American ships, whereas the New Zealand-Australia business is open to ships of all nations.

A current expression of nationalism in Burma is the "Thakin" movement. In Upper Burma "Thakin," the Burmese word for prince or lord, was used widely after the Annexation as a courtesy term of address to Europeans of consequence. The term has now been appropriated by young Burmese leaders of

extreme nationalist views. The Thakins, frequently university students or young rustics without political experience or balance and with slight knowledge of constitutional government in the modern world, have done their country little good. Their program is basically anti-Government, without offering practical alternatives for what they consider abuses in the administration. During the summer of 1940 several Thakins were arrested under the Defence of Burma Act. Three Thakins in Arakan were arrested under the Act upon orders of the Burma Defence Department; the ministers were not consulted and they considered the action an encroachment upon their powers.⁹ Because of the seditious nature of many Thakin speeches, the Government had been forced to act. Aung San, one of the leaders of the movement, wrote numerous articles regarding his group for the Indian nationalist press. In addition to being in touch with Indian extremists the Thakins co-operated with such organizations as the All-Burma Cultivators' League, the All-Burma Workers' League, and the Pongyis' League. These organizations were generally short-lived, amorphous associations that accomplished little for the classes which they purported to assist. The Rangoon press published a picture of the Thakin Association *Dobama Asiayone* of Thonze in which the hammer and sickle flag was displayed prominently.¹⁰

Several Thakins were elected to the Legislature, but the general Burmese criticisms has been that "The *Dobama Asiayone* should do something more than make speeches and hold demonstrations."¹¹ Burmese nationalists took comfort from the fact that "trouserred people" would no longer call themselves Thakins. In short, the Thakin party, known also as the *Dobama Asiayone* (Burma National League) or the *Komin Kochin Ahpwe* (self-government group), appeared first as a political party in the 1936 elections, when they won three seats. The Thakins were violently nationalist and revolutionary. They opposed every ministry and avowed complete independence as their aim. Their only settled principle was intense nationalism. They must be given some credit for patriotism, but like many enthusiasts and dreamers they frequently went to violent extremes which cost them the support of the Burmese people. Later the Japa-

⁹ *New Light of Burma*, May 30, 1940.

¹⁰ *Rangoon Gazette*, December 16, 1938.

¹¹ *New Light of Burma*, May 31, 1940.

nese also turned against them.

Only once in the present century has there been an organized uprising of any proportions against British rule in Burma. On December 22, 1930, a charlatan known as Saya San raised an "army" of men from the Tharrawaddy District, tattooed them with galons (mythical eagles), provided them with charms to insure their invulnerability to gun fire, and began by murdering a forest official on tour in the area. Before the rebellion was suppressed, 2,000 of Saya San's followers were killed; the leader was captured in the Shan States and executed in Tharrawaddy jail in March 1931. No Burman of influence joined the movement, which developed quickly into a looting campaign directed principally against Indians. Thus the rebellion has much to do with the anti-Indian feeling which has persisted in Burma to the present, and which on several occasions has resulted in violent outbreaks which were suppressed by force of arms. Only in June 1937 were 117 associations in Tharrawaddy District declared no longer illegal. The official report on the rebellion summarized the incident with the statement: "In spite of a high standard of literacy, the Burman peasantry are incredibly ignorant."¹²

This uprising associated with nationalism was followed by a month of anti-Chinese riots. While action against Chinese in Burma has ceased, sporadic anti-Indian demonstrations have persisted and continue despite the fact that Burma's commercial relations are primarily with India and with Indians in Burma. Never has there been any open expression of anti-European feeling, in the sense of uprisings against Europeans as a class. However, Burmans have become increasingly sensitive to any adverse criticism of their politics or government by the English press in Rangoon. For example, an editorial which spoke of "... the odd couple of ten rupee notes that sometimes turn the scale of a man's opinions in this country" was resented as a reflection on Burmese voters and politicians. The most serious anti-Indian riots occurred from July to December 1938, during which there was some evidence of anti-Government feeling against all officials, Burman or European. Buddhists alleged that their religion had been insulted by the republication in 1936 of a book by a Burman Modernist. The book had been published first in 1929 and then attracted little

¹² Report on the Rebellion in Burma up to 3rd May, 1931, C.O.S. Vol. 1, 1931.

attention; it was speedily banned in 1938 but the damage had been done in its account of an imaginary conversation between a Maulvi and a Yogi. The riots began in Rangoon, spread to Mandalay, and thence throughout the districts. Units of the Burma Frontier Force were called upon to put down the rioting and looting.¹³ The Rangoon riots began with a mass meeting at the Shwedagon Pagoda on July 26, followed by a parade through the town and attacks on Indian shops. In this city the troubles merged with a bus drivers' strike, students' strikes, and in the oil fields were associated with a strike of Burmese labor. In suppressing the grave disorders, the Government was obliged to prohibit all street processions and gatherings likely to incite riot, which action led Burmans to assert that their civil liberties were infringed.¹⁴ U Ba Lwin, Deputy President of the Senate and Superintendent of Myoma National High School, Rangoon, resigned from the Upper House in protest over a police baton charge on riotous students who were obstructing traffic and destroying property. One bomb was discharged in the legislature; busses and private cars were burned; student leaders went on hunger strike, and lawless elements throughout the country took advantage of the disorders to destroy Indian property. An Indian-owned cotton mill in Monywa was burned, and general opinion in Burma indicated that the Soortee Bazaar fire, which did serious damage to Rangoon's largest market, was caused by the same elements.

The Governor of Burma returned to Rangoon from up-country on December 22, and the following day a state of emergency was declared. The country did not quiet down until early in 1939. A Riots Inquiry Committee of two Buddhists and two Moslems, presided over by Mr. Justice Braund of the High Court, presented a report which indicated that some 240 people, mostly Indians, had been killed, £500,000 worth of property destroyed or damaged, and a trade loss of £750,000 sustained.¹⁵ The Committee attributed the riots to four main causes: (1) The irresponsibility of the Burmese press, which actively encouraged disorders. (2) The incitement to lawlessness by certain elected representatives of the people. (3) The alleged spreading of an anti-social creed among the youth of

¹³ Rangoon *Times*, December 20, 1938.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, December 22.

¹⁵ *Report of the Riots Inquiry Committee, cit.*

Burma by the political Thakin Association. (4) The alleged use by Buddhist priests of their strong religious influence for subversive political ends. This summary makes quite apparent the type of difficulties encountered by those responsible for the transition from authoritarian to representative government.

PARTIES AND GOVERNMENT

In addition to the ferment provided by the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, the formation in 1908 of the Young Men's Buddhist Association, along the lines of the Y.M.C.A., must be given credit for the beginning of party politics in Burma. There developed from the Y.M.B.A., the Younger Party of ardent nationalists which opposed the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms as inadequate. The Younger Party merged into the General Council of Buddhist Associations, of which U Chit Hlaing was the leader. The G. C. B. A. soon broke into three groups headed by Chit Hlaing, U Su, and Soe Theni, while the main body became known as the Twenty-One Party and later as the People's Party led by U Pa Be. Its principal rival was the more active Progressive Party under leadership of Sir Joseph Maung Gyi.

Political parties have been an important feature of Burma's public life since the membership of her Legislative Council was increased from 28 to 103 in 1923. Programs, platforms, leaders and party names have changed with kaleidoscopic frequency and complexity, and since 1923 Burmese political parties have been exceedingly fissiparous. During the period immediately preceding separation from India, U Ohn Ghine, U Chit Hlaing, U Ba Pe, Dr. Ba Maw, Tharrawaddy U Pa, U Saw, U Ba Si, Sir Joseph A. Maung Gyi, U Ba, U Maung Gyee, and Dr. Thein Maung were among the leading Burmese politicians.¹⁰ Viewed from a distance, Burmese politics and politicians appeared naive and provincial. Within the country exaggerated opinions of Burma's importance and wealth were as common as the lack of understanding of the operation of responsible government. Agricultural reforms by law and ways to prevent the improvident Burman from losing his land to alien lenders, even to the extent of restricting the freedom of sale

¹⁰ Dr. Ba Maw's picture appeared in the *Times* magazine *Picture Magazine* in 1924. Dr. Ba Maw's article was instrumental in stimulating the rise to a Hindu attack on the British containing a Buddhist's faith.

tract, were more attractive than acquiring a practical knowledge of sound national economy, trade, and international relations. As recently as February 1939, the Minister for Commerce and Industry asserted in a speech in the House of Representatives that a threatened Indian boycott of Burma rice would not make the slightest difference to the cultivator. In point of fact, a boycott would have been disastrous as India was in 1939 taking two-thirds of Burma's rice which then could not have found an economic market elsewhere.¹⁷

With the approach of separation from India, the moderate U Ba Pe resigned as chief minister on March 15, 1937, and was succeeded by Dr. Ba Maw. No more was heard of the anti-separationists whose leader, U Chit Hlaing, has since served as Speaker of the House of Representatives. Dr. Ba Maw's party controlled only 16 out of 132 seats in the Legislature, yet he succeeded in remaining at the head of a coalition government made up of ex-separationists, dissidents from the opposition United Party, Karens, Europeans, and other minority groups until February 1939. Young, able, and condemned by his enemies as unscrupulous, he was for a time exceedingly popular. But upon discovery that increases in the social and defense services could not be accomplished by a reduction in taxation, it was seen that the idol had feet of clay. Under Dr. Ba Maw's government the Legislature voted to reduce at once by forty per cent the capita-tion and *thathamedas* taxes; these were to be abolished entirely within five years. Dr. Ba Maw's popularity with a section of the population rested upon his *Sinyetha* (poor man) policy. No concise statement of his nebulous policy is available in English, but it consisted in exaggerated election promises of reduction in taxation, increase in social services, return of rice lands to the cultivators at Government expense, rejection of the 1937 constitution and a demand for greater independence. The program was based upon the fulfilment of a Five-Year Plan, which contained many laudable objects including:¹⁸ (1) Village reconstruction; (2) Election of village headmen; (3) Compulsory and free primary education; (4) Land reforms; (5) Establishment of

¹⁷ The Minister's speech, which soon caused his resignation, was reported in full in the *Rangoon Gazette*, February 23, 1939.

¹⁸ The best account of the *Sinyetha* policy is the exposition of his theories before the University Students' Union on September 26, 1936, and reported in the *Rangoon Gazette*, October 5, 1936.

land mortgage banks; (6) Protection from landlords and money-lenders; and (7) Reforms in methods of taxation.

One of the first acts of the new Government to make up for the loss in capitation taxes was the holding of a state lottery, which has been followed by seven other lotteries during 1933-40. Critics of the Government under Burmese ministers have objected to this type of taxation reform as a concession to the gambling instincts of the people; they point out the inconsistency of the purchase within three months of lottery tickets worth Rs. 20 lakhs by a people who pay out huge sums each year to foreign moneylenders and yet have no capital with which to finance industrial development. In furtherance of his policy Dr. Ba Maw promoted bills which set up a Fiscal Committee, a Lands and Agriculture Enquiry Committee, and a Village Committee having as their object investigations in their respective fields with recommendations for legislative action. These committees have presented reports that are valuable guides to reform by Government action. The Government passed a Tenancy Act, which came into force at the beginning of the 1939 crop season, having as its object the fixing of fair rents and prevention of exactions by landlords. The Act, yet in the experimental stage, is handicapped by an insufficiency of staff for its administration. Measures were taken also to unify land tenure as between Upper and Lower Burma. In lower Burma a cultivator could acquire a permanent, heritable and transferable right by continuous occupation for twelve years, including the payment of land revenue, or by specific grant from the state. In Upper Burma all land was divided into state and non-state land and in theory much of the land was not subject to private ownership or sale. All Burma is now in process of adopting the Lower Burma scheme.¹⁹

When the new legislature of 132 members was elected under the constitution of 1937 it was said to consist of 132 parties. Actually, it was not quite that bad. There were seven recognised parties, and fifty-one members who belonged to no party. The Ministry was formed by Dr. Ba Maw, although his party had only 16 members. Legislative parties consisted either of the minority groups or of the personal followers of the Burmese leaders. A well-defined two-party system, essential to the working of a parliamentary government, never developed. Only one

¹⁹ *London Times*, July 7, 1939.

general election was held under the constitution as the Burmese members preferred to merely reform the ministries, usually by inter-party deals involving much the same membership. There was a lack of stability and responsibility in the parliamentary system which made it resemble the French multi-party chaos rather than British responsible government.

By 1939 Dr. Ba Maw became unpopular with members of the nationalist *Myochit* (patriotic) party whose leadership accused him of being dictatorial and vain. He was replaced as premier by U Pu who chose among his ministers U Ba Pe, the experienced leader of the United Party, and U Saw, the foe of Ba Maw and leader of the *Myochits*. U Saw had become something of a national hero as editor of the *Thooreakh* (Sun), and in December 1938 he had been imprisoned as the radical leader of the civil disobedience campaign which resulted from the anti-Indian and anti-Government disturbances of that year. Dr. Ba Maw then formed the Burma Freedom Bloc, and his arrest and sentence for sedition followed in the summer of 1940.²⁰ Dr. Thein Maung, a former minister, was arrested also under the Defence of Burma Act but was released later without sentence. An acrimonious political feud between Dr. Ba Maw and U Saw was a prominent feature of Burmese party government from 1938 to 1940. On January 20, 1940, U Pu's ministry resigned and was reformed the following day by the omission of U Ba Pe, who had refused to resign at the Premier's request. U Ba Pe was replaced by Captain Maung Aye who became Minister of Judicial Affairs, the Premier himself serving as Home Minister and Minister for Commerce.²¹ On September 9, 1940, U Pu was replaced by the more vigorous U Saw, long a leader among Burmese extremist politicians.

U Saw's administration had provided the country with its most completely Burmanized leadership since the beginning of the British connection. On September 26, 1940, the Premier issued a long statement of policy before the House of Representatives. He announced that he and his fellow ministers had taken voluntary reductions in salary to Rs. 3,000 per month for the Premier and Rs. 2,500 for the seven other ministers, five of whom had been in the previous cabinet. His party proclaimed as its program an intensive campaign for Burmanization of the

²⁰ *Infra*, p. 307.

²¹ *New York Times*, January 21, 1940.

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Government services, including education, the defence forces, and the general administration, and appealed for a government of unity, honesty, efficiency, and economy. U Saw declared for free and compulsory primary education and the introduction of Burmese as the medium of instruction and examination in the University of Rangoon. The Prime Minister promised Government aid in founding a *Sasana Takḥathe* (Buddhist University) in furtherance of a Buddhistic religious revival, and pledged official support of various nationalist youth movements.

Burma was promised a clean administration, one free from the evils outlined in the *Report of the Bribery and Corruption Enquiry Committee*. U Saw supported the contention of the Fiscal Committee that "Burma neither needs nor can afford a Rolls-Royce administration . . ." on a Ford income. He promised also equal attention to agriculture and industry, but made only passing reference to his pre-election favorite, the Land Purchase Bill.

The new Premier was congratulated upon his moderation, his promise to seek national honor and complete home rule through evolution rather than revolution. His program appeared, in the main, sound and should his party enjoy freedom from the erratic policies, petty rivalries, and intra-party controversies that plagued his predecessors, U Saw was expected to give Burma perhaps its best government since separation. For several years before his selection U Saw was regarded as an extreme nationalist with pro-Japanese sympathies. The cabinet at the end of 1940 was composed as follows:

Premier	U Saw
Minister for Lands and Revenue	Sir Paw Tun
Minister for Health and Public Works	Tharrawaddy Maung Maung
Minister for Home Affairs	U Aye
Minister for Commerce and Industry	U Ba Than
Minister for Judicial Affairs	Saw Pe Tha
Minister for Finance	U Ba Thi
Minister for Education	U Ba Yin
Minister for Labor	U Ba On
The Premier served as Minister for Agriculture and Forestry.	

In November 1941 U Saw, Premier of Burma since September 1941, visited London for the purpose of securing from Prime Minister Churchill and L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and Burma, a pledge of immediate and complete dominion status for Burma. U Saw was accompanied by U Tin

Tut, the senior Burmese member of the Indian Civil Service. Although their efforts were not immediately successful U Saw reported that "The discussions [with Prime Minister Churchill] have not fulfilled the high hopes of my countrymen, but I leave your shores with no bitterness." He added that the results achieved were not commensurate with the risks he had undertaken in visiting Great Britain in war time. The Prime Minister of Burma spent about a month in the United States, somewhat longer than he had planned, due to the attack upon Pearl Harbor on December 7 and the return to San Francisco of the trans-Pacific clipper on which he had secured passage. In his final interview with the American press before his departure for Burma (as reported in the *New York Times* of December 29, 1941) U Saw again expressed disappointment over his failure to receive immediate and complete dominion status for Burma, but declared he was "still hopeful." Meantime came Prime Minister Churchill's statement that the famed third article of the Atlantic Charter governing the future of states and nations under the Nazi yoke does not apply to "regions the peoples of which owe allegiance to the British Crown." This declaration is, at the beginning of 1942, the most recent pronouncement with respect to the probable future course of constitutional development in Burma. That country's governmental status in 1942 is best described as a self-governing unit of the British Empire which has not yet acquired dominion status.

News of U Saw's detention on the charge of communicating with the enemy was released to the world press on January 18, 1942. Available reports indicate that he was placed under surveillance while en route to Burma, probably in the Middle East. The communique stated:

From reports received about U Saw's movements after his good will mission to this country, it has come to the knowledge of His Majesty's Government that he has been in contact with Japanese authorities since the outbreak of the Japanese war. This fact has been confirmed by his own admission. His Majesty's Government accordingly has been compelled to detain him and it will not be possible to permit him to return to Burma.

Quite evidently he was put under restraint for his pro-Japanese activities since December 7, 1941, rather than for his long record as a Japanophile and his contacts with Japanese propagandists prior to the attack upon Hawaii. Upon his arrival in London, when asked for his attitude toward Japan, U Saw explained

evasively that "the Burmese are not vigorously anti-Nazi since, as Buddhists, they were not given to enmities."

Some unrest was noted in Rangoon when U Saw's detention became known, but a mass meeting of Rangoon Burmese was quick to condemn Japan's attacks upon Burmese cities and to repudiate Japanese propaganda which claimed that the Nipponese were good Buddhists. Other public utterances by prominent Burmese indicated that not all leaders of the country had been deceived by malicious Japanese propaganda.

U Saw, Ba Maw, and the other Burmese who had an interest in Japan and the Japanese before Pearl Harbor doubtless considered themselves patriotic sons of Burma. It is doubtful whether any of them seriously intended to deliver Burma into Japanese control. They were eager to get Japanese arms and money in an effort to blackmail Britain into a grant of complete independence if the European war should go against the British. With characteristic provincialism the Burmans who toyed with Japan and Nazism (they were very few) failed to understand that instead of their using the Japanese as a means of securing independence, the Japanese were using them as a means of aggression. In short, it is a great mistake to compare in ability, culture, and intellect such Ba Maw and U Saw with Indian thinkers such as Gandhi and Nehru. Nor is there at present any ground for disagreement with the opinion expressed in the August, 1942 issue of *Fortune* in discussion of post war plans for Southeast Asia: "There is no reason to suppose that the Burmese politicians... could form any stable and competent government" without some measure of assistance during a period of transition.

There have been evidences of a decline in the standard of district and local administration since the inauguration of the new constitution in 1937. The following year the Government considered it necessary to republish elaborate Government Servants Conduct Rules.²² A legislative inquiry was held into charges of bribery and corruption in the higher offices. There were concerned principally with prevention of abuses in the purchase and sale of houses and other landed property, the prevention of election frauds, and regulation of membership in political associations. The experienced British chairman of the Burma Public Service Commission resigned in 1939, declaring he had

²² *Rangoon Gazette*, October 24, 1939.

been forced out and making open allegations of attempted graft and nepotism.

In the administration itself the tendency is toward streamlining and economy made possible by the improvement of transportation and communication. There are now in Burma seven divisions: Pegu, Irrawaddy, Tenasserim, Arakan, Magwe, Sagaing, and Mandalay, presided over by Commissioners assisted by thirty-three Deputy Commissioners in charge of Districts. Of the latter more than half are Burmese who draw approximately the same pay and perquisites as Europeans in similar stations and grades of service. Induced in large part by the necessity, for economy, the same tendency toward consolidation and reduction in the number of charges extends to such services as Forests, Agriculture, Public Works, Post and Telegraphs, and Land Records. At the same time similar reductions have been made in the number of British officials in service in Karenni, the Federated and Unfederated Shan States, and the loosely administered tribal areas of the north.

In village administration the territory of the *thugyi* or village headman has been enlarged, and his powers have been restricted. He now may have revenue and subordinate police and justice powers over several villages. Nationalists have advocated the absolute election of village headmen, but they continue to hold their appointments by election of the villagers subject to approval of the Deputy Commissioner. The headmen are aided in their duties by an elective village committee. The income of village headmen is derived from a percentage of their revenue collection; seldom do they receive as much as Rs. 500 per year. However, they are usually landowners, brokers, merchants, or retired officials. No one has yet surpassed Colonel Sladen's succinct statement of the qualifications desirable in this important cog in the local administration:

The ideal *thugyi* is a man who possesses influence and has good family connections in the circle in which he presides. Activity and intelligence are essential. He must possess a good knowledge of land measurement and surveying. He should be able to exercise his influence for good in any way that affects the welfare of his circle without centering on revenue only, more particularly in matters relating to crime, and he should aid police enquiry by affording information of bad characters, by procuring evidence, by putting police in possession of those detective agencies with which his long residence and local experience on the spot will have made him familiar.²³

²³ Quoted in Ma Mya Sein, *op. cit.*, 83.

Constitutional government in the cabinet and the Legislature has functioned with reasonable efficiency since 1937. More than 3,000,000 people in Burma have qualified for the franchise. Although there have been no major changes in constituencies since the coming in of the new Government, the general opinion is that urban interests are over-represented; clerical workers have been unable to secure representation through seats allocated to labor. These are reserved for voters who earn less than Rs. 300 per month or Rs. 12 per day. White collar workers secure representation through general constituencies in which they reside. The new instrument of government avoids any mention of dominion status. However, numerous statements by both Britons and Burmans indicate that this degree of independence is the goal for Burma. During the first part of July, 1940, the Secretary of State for Burma and the Governor of Burma both announced that on June 22 the Premier of Burma (U Saw) had made the following declaration of policy:

"At this critical juncture in the history of the world and of the war of freedom and democracy against brute force, the policy of the Government of Burma is to give the utmost help in the common task of making the forces of freedom and democracy triumphant in the present conflict... the Government of Burma would strongly urge upon His Majesty's Government the necessity of satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the people of Burma by making a declaration forthwith to the effect that on the termination of the present war, His Majesty's Government will grant Burma a constitution which will enable her to take at once her due place as a fully self-governing and equal member of any Commonwealth or Federation of free nations that may be established as a result of the war".²¹

To this declaration the Secretary of State replied that His Majesty's Government approved the suggestion from the Governor of Burma that a representative Burman should be chosen to serve as Counsellor in the important sphere of defence. The Governor of Burma announced a further declaration by the Secretary of State in the following terms:

"As regards the question of future constitutional development the policy and intentions of His Majesty's Government have been clearly declared in the statements which you delivered to your Ministers on November 7 and 24, 1939, that they will continue to use their best endeavours

²¹ *Bangkok Gazette*, July 2, 1940. Repeated by the *Government of the Burma Republic* at the opening session on August 29, 1940. *The New York Times*, August 2, 1940, contained the text of the Viceroy's statement on the future of India, which was repeated in essentially identical terms for Burma.

vours to promote the attainment of Dominion Status as being the objective of Burma's constitutional progress. At this moment it is clearly impossible to predict what will be the world situation at the end of the war, what aspects the requirements of Burma's defence and external affairs problems will assume in that situation and to what extent Burma will herself be in a position to cope with those requirements. It is only in the light of circumstances that may actually obtain at the time that these questions can usefully be considered and discussed, but when the war is brought to a victorious end His Majesty's Government will be very willing to enter on a discussion of them."

Upon receipt of this announcement in Burma, the Governor in a radio address to the nation confirmed Mr. Amery's statement. Shortly thereafter the Burma Cabinet requested the Governor to add a Burman as one of his Counsellors and pledged in return Burma's complete co-operation in the war. In deference to Burmese opinion Sir Archibald Cochrane appointed U Maung Gyi who was to give his attention particularly to defense problems.²⁵ U Maung Gyi, a former Minister of Education, was President of the Senate when he was appointed on July 12, 1940, at the age of fifty-five years. He was one of the founders of National schools and the Young Men's Buddhist Association and thus was thoroughly acquainted with Burmese public opinion.

At a joint session of both houses of the Burma Legislature on August 26, 1940, the Governor, Sir Archibald Cochrane, made the following amplification of his previous statement:

"The statement which I made on July 2nd with the authority of His Majesty's Government makes it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that full self-government which is essence of Dominion Status is the goal for Burma as for India and further that immediately the war is brought to a victorious end His Majesty's Government will be willing to discuss the problems to be solved in Burma. That is a definite statement of intention. It will become effective as soon as our victory makes this possible."

TARIFF POLICY

Due to the fact that Burma had made little advance in industrialization during its long association with India prior to 1937, the Indian tariff as applied to Burma amounted to a high tariff for revenue rather than protection.²⁶ Likewise, under the terms of separation Burma was unable to make any change in its tariff policy with India before April 1, 1940, and since the European war disturbed all trade in the Orient, no substantial changes

²⁵ *Ibid.*, July 15.

²⁶ Cmd. 4902/1935 par. 59.

have been made and Burma's tariffs remained (through 1940) essentially the same as those of India.

In the August 1940 session of the Burma Legislature a committee was appointed to examine the tariff position with special reference to protection of Burma's growing sugar industry. It is entirely probable that instead of a general lowering of all tariffs, as was desired before separation, the country will decide that the protection of growing industries demands a retention, in the main, of the protective rates in force in India. However, there will be undoubtedly a demand for lowering of the tariff on steel, iron, hardware, machinery, and other goods which Burma does not produce and when she is unlikely to produce within the coming decade. During the fiscal year ending March 31, 1939, there were significant reductions in imports of finished textiles, from 170 million yards in the previous year to 137 million yards, while the imports of cotton twist and yarn increased from 11,500,000 pounds to 17,000,000 pounds. There were significant reductions also in imports of fish, liquor, boots and shoes, salt, and sugar. Although some of these decreases were due to unsettled trading conditions, in most cases they resulted from a marked increase in local production,²⁷ encouraged by the protective tariff.

Customs duties in Burma are collected on an *ad valorem* basis or upon some unit such as pound, ton, or gallon, and these rates vary so widely that generalizations are of little value. However, twenty-five per cent *ad valorem* is a common average rate. The denunciation of the Ottawa Trade Agreement by the Indian Legislature in March 1936, and the separation of Burma from India on April 1, 1937, made it necessary for Burma to negotiate a new trade agreement with the United Kingdom. Dr. Thain Maung, the Minister for Commerce, accompanied by Mr. J. H. Wise, I.C.S., and three unofficial commercial advisers, spent the summer and autumn of 1937 in London engaged in a thorough examination of the entire field of Burma-United Kingdom trade. However, due to the restriction on Burma's freedom of negotiation imposed by the India and Burma Trade Regulations Order (1937) as a result of separation, it was found that Burma

²⁷ *Burma Daily Journal*, April 1939. A similar study was made by O. H. Smith, "Problems and Prospects of the Burmese Economy" (1941), 75-82. As an example of the effect of the tariff on the economic development of Burma, see a study by the Burmese government, "A Study of the Effect of the Tariff on the Economic Development of Burma," 1939, p. 1.

could not form a trade agreement with Britain until a new United Kingdom-India Trade Agreement had been concluded. The Burma delegation returned to Rangoon in November and the negotiations were adjourned. The then existing preferential rates granted Burma in the British market were extended to June 30, 1939, and subsequently extended yet again, and the present situation is that Burma and Britain enjoy mutual imperial preference rates of approximately seven to ten per cent over the rates charged extra-Empire competitors. Meantime, Burma has yet to formulate a tariff policy best suited to her own needs.²⁹

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

Burma, in common with much of the remainder of the world, has exhibited a trend away from free competition to business by international arrangement and local Government control. As evidence of growing Government assistance to business, an official *Burma Trade Journal* began publication in 1938. Burma statistics were formerly contained in the *Indian Trade Journal*. One of the objects of Indian nationalists under Jawaharlal Nehru has been a venture into state socialism and nationalization of industry. The same project is actually in operation in neighboring Thailand where Government control of factories, rice production and distribution, tin mining, and shipping has in numerous instances reached the stage of actual Government ownership and operation. These programs have had their influence in Burma; in June 1940 a State Aid to Industries Bill was circulated and objections invited. The primary purpose of the proposed act was the grant of Government loans and subsidies in aid of village industries and factory enterprises, and under a Land Purchase Bill that year, further aid was given to rural credit and rehabilitation by legislation. Income tax exemptions have been lowered and there are now nearly 60,000 persons in the country who are subject to the tax. Legislators have given notice of intention to introduce a moneylenders control bill for considera-

²⁸ A good discussion of Burma's tariff problems, particularly as these relate to Indo-Burma trade, is Sir Hugh Stephenson, "Some Problems of a Separated Burma," *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, XXV (July 1938), 400-15. See also the Department of Overseas Trade publication No. 718, Sir Thomas M. Ainscough, *Conditions and Prospects of United Kingdom Trade in India (with a brief account of the Trade of Burma)* (London, 1939), 95-212. The tariff schedule currently in force may be found in *Parl. Papers*, 1937-38, XXIX, 933-90. *Ibid.*, 928-31, presents data on the land routes and tariffs for the small overland trade with China and Thailand.

tion in the autumn session of the 1940 Legislature.

The European war, coupled with Japanese involvement in China has provided an unprecedented impetus to industrial development, particularly in the fields of textiles and light industry. Likewise, highway communications and telephonic connections have been improved greatly since the outbreak of the European war. At the end of 1940 Burma had 5,000 miles of all-weather roads, nearly one-fifth of which were hard surfaced highways.²⁹ A new road was constructed to the border of Thailand and the amount spent on highway construction and maintenance increased to nearly Rs. 40 lakhs. A dispensary was authorized for every township. Civil and military aviation made rapid progress and there was a considerable increase in the number of landing fields available. Burma cities have been improved by the addition of such amenities as Rotary Clubs and neon lights. Western sports and amusements are being introduced rapidly. Pony, canoe, and bullock cart racing are being abandoned for more modern sports. The Rangoon Turf Club has in its Kyaikason race course, completed at a cost of £250,000, one of the finest grounds of this type in the entire Orient.

THE NATIONAL BUDGET

Due to its separation from India and the subsequent reorganization of its finances, and to the fact that prior to separation some of Burma's revenues were earmarked for the Central Government in New Delhi while others were allocated to the Provincial Government in Rangoon, there is available only partial information on the receipts and expenditures of the Government of Burma for the period since 1937. The main item in the revenues spent in Burma was land revenue, which averaged Rs. 3/11 per capita, per annum—a taxation rate higher than that levied in any province of India.³⁰ This general term included not only land taxes but also fees from irrigation, drainage, embankments, royalties on minerals (principally petroleum), and the old capitation and *thuthameda* taxes. The next largest item was forest revenues. On the expenditure side, the general administration, including the various Civil Services and the police, consumed nearly sixty per cent of the income of the Govern-

²⁹ A sketch map of Burma with roads is attached to *East Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 1, *Der Neue Orient*, XII (January 1940), 1572.

³⁰ *Statistical Abstract for British India*, Vol. 1, Part 2, 1937-38, Table C-11, XXIX, 655.

ment of Burma. The customs duties and income taxes were allotted to the Central Government; these taxes had the advantage of being flexible and capable of sudden expansion in time of need whereas the land revenues were fixed well in advance and were thus more rigid. Prior to separation Burma's debt was owed entirely to the Government of India and since 1937 Burma has not found it necessary to borrow capital funds from external sources.

Since 1937 Burma has enjoyed only partial financial and tariff autonomy, due to the limitations upon its fiscal powers with respect to relations with India during a period of mutual adjustment.³¹ During the fiscal year 1937-38, the first year of separation, Burma had a surplus of more than Rs. 12 million, and this surplus was maintained for the following year. Only the abnormal expenses resultant from defense expenditures put the national finances in the deficit column after the beginning of the European war. Appendix IX herein offers a detailed statement of the estimated income and expenditures for the year 1938-39, the only "normal" year since separation.³²

A statement of the principal items of revenue and expenditures in thousands of rupees for 1939-40, the last fiscal year for which returns are available, is as follows:—

INCOME

Land Revenue	Income Tax	Excise	Forests	Stamps
40,981	18,449	17,270	14,393	3,316

EXPENDITURES

Defense	Police	Public Debt	Pensions	Public Works
23,526	15,787	16,605	14,822	12,126
Gen. Adm.	Education	Medical & Public Health		
11,801	9,778	5,620		

The above tabulation reflects the great influence of the war upon Burma. Income Tax rose sharply as a source of revenue to the government. Land revenue actually declined although the figure given again includes such items as income from fisheries, irrigation, the capitation tax, petroleum and mining royalties. On the expenditure side, for the first time the cost of defense, which

³¹ As explained in the section on tariff policy.

³² F. Burton Leach, *The Future of Burma*, cit., 2nd ed., has an analysis of the national revenues and expenses with tables. Furnivall, *Political Economy of Burma*, cit., Chapter XI, has much useful information on the land revenue of Burma,

includes the frontier force, reached sizeable proportions. Expenditure for police, which included the Military Police remained at practically the same level as previous years. The total revenue in 1939-40 was Rs. 171,411,582 and the expenditure was Rs. 156,764,557.

It is apparent that land revenue and customs combined are the foundation of Burma's financial structure and account together for more than half the total governmental income. Other large sources of revenue are forests, excise, and stamps. In the case of forests, the expected yield was Rs. 1,50,00,000 against which there was an expense charge of Rs. 60,68,000, leaving a net gain of Rs. 89,32,000 (U.S. \$3,000,000), a very creditable record in view of the fact that in many countries the forest services are operated at a loss. Most of the remaining items listed as revenue are in reality incomes from departments or activities that are operated at a net loss to the Government: e.g., Ports and Pilotage yielded about two and one-fourth lakhs per annum but cost nearly four and one-half lakhs.

In the case of expenditures, these normally are within the national income and average about Rs. 15,00,00,000 (about U.S. \$50,000,000) per annum. By comparison the budget of the State of California was approximately £276,000,000 in 1940. The California taxpayer in addition pays numerous direct and indirect taxes to the federal Government and to local bodies. In Burma, moreover, the budget includes charges for police, education, social services, and numerous other items which in the average American state are borne wholly or in part by municipalities, counties, or other local districts which in turn pass the burdens along to the taxpayer. In addition, the Burma budget includes numerous expenditures for projects (e.g., irrigation and public works) which in the United States are functions of the beneficent federal Government.

Expenditures on general administration, police, pensions, the defense services, interest and debt reduction, and education each consume between one and two crores of rupees annually. Because of the fact that the administration of Burma is closely centralized, the term "general administration" likewise includes many additional expenses which in many countries are borne upon the tax structures of countries, municipalities and other local bodies. For these reasons, it is beyond the scope of this survey to attempt the difficult task of drawing significant comparisons

between the tax load in Burma as contrasted with the total burden of taxation in other countries in either the Orient or the Occident. The nationalist generalization to the effect that India (including Burma) has the most expensive administration in the world borne by the poorest people in the world is not supported by even a cursory examination of income and expenditure, personal and national, in Burma.

CHAPTER XIV

FOREIGN RELATIONS

Burma as a part of the British Indian Empire from 1824 until 1937 had few foreign relations distinct from those of the Central Government in Calcutta and New Delhi. During the first half of this period the Governor-General of India exercised minute direction of all aspects of Burma's relations with neighboring states.¹ In general, the most pronounced feature of the British attitude toward the states beyond Burma was a reluctance to become involved in any trans-Salween territorial acquisition. The Government of India throughout the past century was fully occupied with more urgent problems closer home. These included the consolidation of British authority within the sub-continent of India proper, the Sikh and Afghan wars, internal reforms, relations with powerful native states, the Indian Mutiny and consequent transfer of power from the East India Company to the Crown, and fear of Russian aggression on the Northwest Frontier. The annexation of Upper Burma completed the era of conquest and since 1886 no considerable additions have been made to British holdings in India. The enlarged Indian Empire, of which Burma was the eastern bulwark, came into touch with Tibet, China, French Indo-China, and Siam on the east, while Lord Curzon took effective steps to preserve British influence in Tibet, Persia, and the lands bordering the Persian Gulf.

As early as the Anglo-Nepal War of 1816-18 Dr. Buchanan advised the East India Company against giving "the Chinese any just reason for suspicion by forming any pretensions to any part of the mountainous region which separates the Empire."² And this advice was acted upon by the British in Southeast Asia for several decades. Administrators in Burma were cautioned

¹ Numerous illustrations of this control during Dalhousie's term of office are found in D. G. E. Hall, ed., *The Dalhousie-Pyaw Correspondence, 1819-1824* (London, 1932), passim. At no time before 1837 did the Government of India take direct control of foreign affairs.

² *Papers Relating to the Nepal War* (London, 1826), 45.

repeatedly against encroachments upon the territory of either Siam, China or independent Burma to the east and north. During the short viceroyalty of Lord Mayo, the Government of India stated positively in a message from the Governor-General to the Chief Commissioner:

The future annexation of Burma, or any of its adjacent states, is not an event which I should either contemplate or desire; on the contrary, I should view with extreme regret and disapproval any course of action that would impose upon the British Government the necessity of occupying, or of assuming, even in a temporary manner, the government of any of the states lying adjacent to the province now in your charge.³

Without attempting to gloss over Britain's imperial ambitions elsewhere in Southeast Asia during the past century, the evidence is that her expansion in Burma was due to fortuitous causes rather than to deliberate design. Had Theebaw's government not become involved in French intrigue, it is unlikely that annexation would have occurred. A Burmese student has declared that the "arrogance and insolence of the Burmese officials in Arakan"⁴ was the principal cause of the first Anglo-Burmese war; this opinion applies with almost equal force to the wars of 1852 and 1885.

BURMA AND INDIA

Burma's long connection with India and her separation from the larger partner have already been considered.⁵ Once the principle of severance was accepted, the anti-separationist party in Burma disappeared, and there remained but the problem of arranging the financial and administrative details of the division. Even before the question of separation had been decided, the Government of India in 1931 appointed a joint commission, consisting of Mr. Nixon of the Indian Civil Service and Sir Henry Howard as Burma's representative, to submit a tentative plan for financial separation of the two countries. The Howard-Nixon Memorandum proposed a division of the assets and liabilities of the Central Government, taking into consideration many problems such as the profits of the Rice Control Board, which operated during the World War, the valuation of the Burma Railways, the Post and Telegraph Department, and

³ Fytche, *op. cit.*, II, 124. Dispatch Mayo to Fytche, dated Simla, 18 July, 1867.

⁴ Ma Mya Sein, *op. cit.*, 16.

⁵ *Supra*, Chapter V.

Burma's share in the debt for capital expenditures of the joint government in Burma.

Inasmuch as it was charged that the recommendations were prejudicial to Burma, the Secretary of State for India decided that the problem should be examined by an independent commission. The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, Sir Sidney Rowlatt, and Sir Walter Nicholson prepared the Amery Report which was signed in March 1935. Under its terms, which subsequently became the basis for the Indo-Burma financial settlement, Burma assumed 7.5 per cent of India's net liabilities.⁶ Eventually Burma parted from India owing the latter Rs. 50.75 crores (about U.S. \$160,000,000) which it undertook to pay with interest in forty-five annual installments of Rs. 2.25 crores. Revenues in Burma exceeded expectations during the first years after separation, and officials expressed the belief that without undue stress Burma would be able to liquidate its debt to India within thirty years. In view of the improved financial condition of the country, an Order in Council, dated March 18, 1937, fixed Burma's payment for the first year of separation at Rs. 3,23,01,000. Burma pays 3.5 per cent interest on her indebtedness to India and, in addition, was charged with 7.5 per cent of the pensions of the Central Government of India, subject to annual decrements over a period of twenty years.⁷

It is believed that under normal conditions Burma should gain annually about Rs. 325 lakhs as a result of separation. Burmese opinion considered that the country was burdened with more than its share of the national debt, particularly since for years Burma had contributed more than populous Bengal to the revenues of the Central Government.⁸ On the other hand, patriotic Indians claimed that, but for Burma, India would have had no debt,⁹ and that from 1860 to 1903 Burma was a deficit province and a drain on British and Indian treasuries. The principal liability taken over by Burma was the state-owned railways, which were valued at Rs. 33.26 crores, a figure generally considered in excess of their actual value. The chairman of the Burma Chamber of Commerce suggested that the Burma Railways were

⁶ GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, 1935, *Annual Report*, vol. 1, p. 100. For a full discussion of the Amery Report, see *Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, p. 100.

⁷ *The India Budget*, vol. 1, p. 100. For a full discussion of the Amery Report, see *Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, p. 100.

⁸ *Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, p. 100.

⁹ A statement of the Chairman of the Burma Chamber of Commerce, *Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, p. 100.

valued from seven to ten crores in excess of their true worth.¹⁰

Burma, which now has its own postage stamps, continues to use Indian bank notes and currency, and the Rangoon branch of the Imperial Bank of India for the present maintains its connection as a member of the Federal Reserve Bank of India.¹¹ The Rangoon branch of the Reserve Bank of India, with which the Imperial Bank and all "scheduled" banks must maintain deposits, continues to manage the currency and central banking functions of the Government of Burma. Under the terms of financial separation India agreed to re-mint without charge Indian coins for use in Burma, but this has not yet been accomplished and Indian coins continue to circulate as legal tender in Burma. It was announced in April 1941 that a new Indo-Burma trade agreement had been reached. Under this arrangement Indian goods imported into Burma will enjoy a fifteen per cent tariff preferential over non-empire goods and a ten per cent preference as compared with other Empire goods. Indian finished textiles will be granted a fifteen per cent preference over all other imported piece goods of whatever origin.

Indians were apprehensive lest their trade and immigration relations with Burma come to a sudden end at separation. Consequently it was agreed that from April 1, 1937, until April 1, 1940, there should be no unilateral action on Burma's part imposing duties on trade to or from India or restricting ordinary immigration from India.¹² These original trade and immigration agreements were confirmed and amplified by an Order in Council on March 18, 1938, with the added provision that they could be continued in force beyond 1940 and would remain operative thereafter until twelve months should elapse after the giving of notice by either Government of the intention to terminate the agreement.¹³ Burmese nationalists have demanded that this notice be given, and on March 31, 1940, the Government of Burma gave notice to India that on March 31, 1941, they desired to open negotiations for a new trade agreement with India. As explained in the section on tariff, it is expected that

¹⁰ Rangoon Gazette, March 1, 1937.

¹¹ Details may be consulted in *Arrangements as to the Relations between the Monetary System of India and Burma in the Event of Separation of Burma from India*, Cmd. 4901/1935.

¹² *Trade and Immigration Relations between India and Burma after the Separation of Burma*, Cmd. 4985/1935.

¹³ The Order in Council was published in full in the *Rangoon Gazette Weekly Budget*, February 8 and May 17, 1937.

new trade arrangements with India will be followed by Burma-United Kingdom trade negotiations, as one object of which Burmese leaders have indicated their desire to restore the preferential of one penny per pound formerly granted to Burma rice in the British market but which had been reduced by one-fourth as a result of Anglo-American reciprocal trade negotiations. Likewise, in the statement of policy given by the new Prime Minister, U Saw, in the Burma House of Representatives on September 26, 1940, it was made clear that Burma intends to end unrestricted and unregulated immigration from both India and China. The entire problem of Indian immigration was studied during 1940 by the Baxter Commission on Indian Immigration.

Considerable resentment was aroused among Indians resident in Burma by the decision of the Government of Burma to double postage and telegraph rates to India after separation. European members of the Burma legislature joined in the protest, but the decision to charge "Empire" instead of "inland" rates to India was maintained.¹⁴ It now costs 1 anna 3 pies to send a letter to a Burma address, annas 2-6 to Empire countries (including India), and annas 3-6 to other countries. Trade relations were made more difficult by the reduction in frequency of mail and cargo steamer service from Rangoon to India.

An unfortunate personal misunderstanding between Dr. B. Maw, Burma's leading nationalist, and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru on the occasion of the latter's visit to Burma in May 1937, further strained Indo-Burma relations immediately following separation.

Indian uncertainty as to their future status in Burma caused thousands of immigrants to return to Hindustan. Indian land owners and moneylenders liquidated their Burma holdings whenever possible, and during the fiscal year 1937-38, Rs. 3,25,00,000 in postal money orders alone was remitted to India, the largest amount in Indo-Burman history and more than twice the sum sent to India from any other country.¹⁵ Information on the amount remitted through banks is not available. Immigration decreased from the high level of 321,000 in 1935 to 199,000 in 1937, and further decreases have taken place since the Indo-Burman riots of 1938. Many of these immigrants returned

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 22 and May 10, 1937.

¹⁵ *Indian Information Service*, XI (Rangoon) 1-3, 4, 5.

for the harvest season only, then return to India.¹⁶

According to the census of 1931 there were 1,017,825 Indians in Burma, an increase of 15.5 per cent during the decade.¹⁷ Of this number 200,000 lived in the Arakan Division nearest India and were considered as permanently domiciled in Burma. Of the Indians in Burma, 617,521 were born in India; 565,609 were Hindus; 396,594 were Moslems; the remainder were Sikhs, Indian Christians, and others. No complete information is available as to occupational classification of Indians in Burma. Parsees from the Bombay coast are prominent in business and the professions; Chettyars from South India are the leading native bankers; the Kakkas, Moslems from the Malayalam areas of the Madras Presidency, operate restaurants and control the manufacture and sale of carbonated beverages for the native trade; the Memans, Khojas and Borahs are Gujerat Moslem merchants;; the Chulias, Tamil Moslems from Madras, are dominant in the hardware and iron trade; Hindus from upper India are the leading jewelers and goldsmiths; Hindus and Moslems share the trade in cotton goods, while most of the common labor is performed by Hindu Telugus and Tamils. It is generally possible to determine the race, religion, and frequently the occupation of Indians in Burma by observing their costumes. In fact, the division of Indians along strict lines of caste or religion is, to the democratic Burmese, most objectionable since it contributes to the separatism and unassimilability of Indians in the country. Their pre-eminence in the commercial life of Burma is illustrated by a report which showed the percentage of taxes paid by the different communities in Rangoon in 1931:¹⁸

Indians	55.49
Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Burmans	15.34
Burmans	11.27
Chinese and others	17.90

Whereas the Indian is generally regarded as an enterprising foreigner who enriches himself at Burma's expense, there are, of course, numerous instances of cordial relations between Indians and Burmans. Indian capital and enterprise have contributed greatly to the development of Burma. A leading Indian capitalist, Raja Dr. Reddiar, made a gift of Rs. 2,00,000 for the

¹⁶ See Appendix VIII D for statistics on immigration and emigration.

¹⁷ *Census Report, 1931*, 225.

¹⁸ Reported in the *Rangoon Gazette*, August 12, 1935, with the statement that had been no appreciable change since 1931.

construction of the university library, and the much maligned Chettyar banking community established an endowment of Rs. 1,52,000 in support of banking and commercial education in the University of Rangoon. Individual Chettyars frequently aid charitable projects in the country. For instance, the Chettyars of Bogale sank a deep well and provided the city with a supply of pure drinking water.

Frontier relations between India and Burma have been without incident. Aside from possible rectifications along the lightly administered areas in the vicinity of Hkmati Long, the frontier between the two countries has been demarcated. Except for occasional disturbances by the turbulent tribesmen of the upper frontier, the peace has not been broken. There is neither trade nor travel of any consequence across the land frontiers. Indo-Burman trade is conducted entirely across the Bay of Bengal. Upon the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, Manipur pressed its claims for the return of the disputed Bubo Kabaw Valley, but the Government of India left the territory within Burma.¹⁹ Indo-Burmese relations have been troubled more by the racial riots of the decade 1930-40 than by any other cause. These outbreaks had their roots in economic distress. The Burman, who has been steadily dispossessed of his lands and natural resources, has found the Indian a convenient object of his resentment.²⁰

India remains Burma's best customer, and the true interests of both countries require that racial, commercial, and cultural harmony be established and maintained. The following table indicates the strong position of India with respect to Burma's export and import trade.²¹

It will be seen from the table that, since separation, trade relations between the two countries have become closer; exports to India have increased from 50.9 to 60.5 of Burma's total exports; and imports from India have increased from 48.8 to 55.6 of Burma's total imports of foreign goods. India takes two-thirds of Burma's rice, all her oil, eighty per cent of her tea, and it is obvious that Burma must not offend her largest market. Burma's natural desire to reduce the import duties which prevented

¹⁹ Dutt, *op. cit.*, 216.
²⁰ *Ibid.*, Chapter VIII.
²¹ *Survey of the Import Trade of India for the Fiscal Year 1937-38*, by the Ministry of Commerce, Department of Commercial Intelligence, Government of India, 1938, p. 10. The figures are based on data from Burma Trade Journal, May 1938, and are subject to adjustment.

DISTRIBUTION OF BURMA'S FOREIGN TRADE AS BETWEEN INDIA AND OTHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES, 1937-40

	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
	<i>Rs. lakhs</i>	<i>Rs. lakhs</i>	<i>Rs. lakhs</i>
Exports to India	25,69.0	26,35.5	33,06.3
Exports to other foreign countries	24,73.4	22,14.7	21,99.0
Imports from India	11,70.6	11,18.4	13,98.7
Imports from other foreign countries.....	12,10.8	9,59.8	11,17.3
Total foreign trade	74,23.8	69,28.0	80,21.3
By percentage:			
Exports to India	50.9	54.3	60.5
Imports from India	48.8	53.8	55.6

her customs frontiers when she was a part of India has been restrained. Lancashire interests expected to reap a decided advantage over their competitors in Burma, but were disappointed when Burma's textile duties and quotas with India and Japan remained substantially unchanged after separation.

Separation of the two countries did not deprive Burma of the assistance of certain technical services of the Government of India; lighthouses on the Burma coast and the meteorological services continued to function as a part of the Indian establishment. Likewise, civil aviation and certain specialized agricultural services continued under Indian direction during the period of adjustment. The India Office building in London is owned jointly by India and Burma and these arrangements have been described as an "administrative partnership between two distinct governments"²² Members of the Indian Civil Service and the other imperial services were given the choice of service in India, continued service in Burma, or retirement; nearly all chose service in Burma.

Ceremonies in honor of the inauguration of a separate government for Burma were observed on April 1, 1937, in the city hall, Rangoon.²³ Sir Archibald Douglas Cochrane took the oath of office as Governor before Sir Ernest Goodman Roberts, the Chief Justice. A message was read from His Majesty the King, the oath of office was taken by the new ministers with the exception of Dr. Ba Maw who was absent. The Viceroy of India presented a mace of office to the Burma Senate. U Pu, Minister for Forests and Agriculture, summarized the sentiment of the day by declaring, "We will part as friends."

²² Cmd. 4902/1935.

²³ The London *Times* issued a special Burma number on April 20, 1937, in honor of the occasion.

BURMA AND CHINA

References have been made to the sources for study of Burma's historic relationship with China.²⁴ Although the question of the precise degree of Burma's dependency upon China through the centuries remains unsettled, the available evidence indicates that the relationship was that of a dutiful son grateful for gifts of culture rather than that of a politically dependent state. That is, Burma's position was comparable to that of Siam rather than to that of Tonkin. Certainly there is little evidence of a seigneurial position between the two countries after the Burmese defeat of the great Chinese invasions of 1765-69.²⁵ Burma sent frequent missions to China, and China reciprocated with complimentary embassies to Burma. The *Peking Gazette* in 1875 contained a full account of Mindon's embassy of that year.²⁶ During the nineteenth century Burma sent a decennial mission to Peking, and upon the British occupation of Mandalay in 1886 they agreed to continue the dispatch of ceremonial tribute, to consist of products of Burma, "the mission to be composed of representatives of the Burmese race."²⁷ However, British officials in Burma looked with disfavor upon this agreement by the Foreign Office, and the decennial missions were abandoned in 1896.²⁸

Immediately after the occupation of Mandalay a steamer was dispatched to Bhamo to forestall possible seizure of that river port by the Chinese. Bhamo had in fact been held for a short time during 1885 by Chinese freebooters, but when the British steamer arrived in November 1885, there were no Chinese troops in the vicinity and Bhamo has been continuously under British control since that time.²⁹ Douglas, then Chinese Adviser to the Government of Burma, believed that the Chinese "would be perfectly willing to see our frontier made coterminous with their

²⁴ These are well summarized by H. G. Luce and U Pe Ming, *The Sino-Burmese Frontier*, who have given meticulous attention to all aspects of Sino-Burmese frontier history. Latest studies, with extensive bibliographical notes, are in *IRPA*, XXX (1940).

²⁵ Harvey, *op. cit.*, 353-4.

²⁶ Robert E. Hart, "China and Burma," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, I, 1896, 141-64, published a translation of a full official Chinese report.

²⁷ See Article I, Convention Between Great Britain and Siam, 1893, and Article I, Convention Between Great Britain and Siam, 1893, and *Treaties in Force and Foreign State Papers*, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 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own."³⁰ However, the Viceroy of Yunnan memorialized his Government for support against possible British encroachment from the south.³¹ Officials who established British administration in Upper Burma reported that Chinese were "at all times a useful and enterprising element in the population."³² Meantime in 1903 the British Government constructed twentyfive miles of mule road in Yunnan and two years later, with Chinese approval, completed a survey for a railway from Bhamo to Tengyueh.³⁴ Captain Kingdon Ward, during his visit to Hkamti Long in 1906, reported that a Chinese mandarin, Hsia-hu, visited much of the high country that separates Burma from Tibet and attempted to persuade the tribesmen to approve annexation of the area to Yunnan.³⁴ During a second expedition to Hkamti Long in 1912, a Chinese survey party was encountered and expelled from the area.³⁵ During the boundary settlements from 1887 to 1900 the valley of the Taron, a tributary of the Irrawaddy, was awarded to China. With the exception of the Taron and the upper Shweli and Taiping, the entire watershed of the Irrawaddy lies in British territory.

Both before and after the annexation of Upper Burma, Sino-Burmese relations were confined, in the main, to two subjects: trade relations and boundary demarcations. There is a wealth of material on trade routes from Burma to China and the efforts that have been made to keep them open. Sino-Burmese trade suffered serious interruptions during the Panthay rebellion which distracted the frontier from 1855 to 1875. During this time Imperial China did everything in its power to prevent all trade between Burma and Yunnan in an effort to deprive the Moslem rebels of foreign supplies. Only a few diplomatic exchanges between China and Great Britain or the Government of India in control of British Burma had any reference to Burma.

Having obtained Chinese recognition of Britain's conquest of Burma, the Government of India began in 1887 a series of boundary settlements with China which persisted until 1937. By the terms of the Peking Convention of July 24, 1886,³⁶ it was

³⁰ Douglas, *loc. cit.*, 164.

³¹ *North China Herald*, March 24, 1886.

³² Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*, 41.

³³ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, 1931 ed., XII, 209.

³⁴ Captain F. Kingdon Ward, *In Farthest Burma* (London, 1921), 275. Ward's expedition was sent primarily to ascertain the extent of Chinese influence in the high country in and adjoining the Burmese frontier.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 277.

³⁶ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 77 (1885-86), 80, 81.

agreed to facilitate the China overland trade and to provide for a joint commission to delimit the frontier. Little progress was made on the frontiers until the Sino-British Convention of March 1, 1894, provided for the appointment of a second boundary commission, arranged for the appointment of a Chinese consul in Rangoon and a British consul at Manwyne, and permitted the establishment of telegraphic connection between Bhamo and Yunnanfu.³⁷ Article VIII of the Convention admitted British goods and Burmese produce except rice and salt free of Burma duty if destined for the overland trade to China, and reduced the standard schedule of the Chinese Maritime Customs by three-tenths for land imports from Burma and the export duty by four-tenths on goods carried overland from China to Burma.

Despite these special preferential tariffs only an insignificant overland trade developed along the Bhamo, Hsenwi, and Keng Tung frontiers. At the time of the Washington Naval Conference in 1922, Mr. Sastri, the Indian delegate, informed Dr. Sze that India [Burma] wished to terminate the special tariffs, and Dr. C. T. Wang informed Sir Miles Lampson in Nanking on December 20, 1928, that China intended to apply her new customs tariff uniformly on all land and sea frontiers. The new Treaty Between His Majesty and the President of the Chinese Republic Relating to the Chinese Customs Tariff, Etc., was signed at Nanking on December 20, 1928, to take effect from February 1, 1929.³⁸

After the new custom tariff went into effect trans-frontier exports to China decreased from Ch.\$5,500,000 in 1927 to less than \$1,000,000 in 1936, six-sevenths of which was raw cotton and cotton yarn. The import trade, four-fifths of which was silk which has been displaced by Japanese rayon, decreased by similar proportions. An erratic trade that fluctuates in accordance with silver prices and exchange restrictions is the import of silver from China. During the year 1932-33 alone, 5,577,390 ounces of silver passed down the river from Bhamo; in 1935 a little more than 585,000 ounces went overland to Burma.³⁹ The export of salt to Yunnan has remained fairly constant at 100,000

³⁷ *IBIA*, 87 (1894-95), 1411.

³⁸ The new tariff was published in the *Chinese Customs Tariff*, 1929, and in the *Treaty Series*, No. 1124, 1929, and in the *Chinese Customs Tariff*, 1929.

³⁹ *Statistical Abstract of the Republic of China*, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 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3755, 3756, 3757, 3758, 3759, 3760, 3761, 3762, 3763, 3764, 3765, 3766, 3767, 3768, 3769, 3770, 3771, 3772, 3773, 3774, 3775, 3776, 3777, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3781, 3782, 3783, 3784, 3785, 3786, 3787, 3788, 3789, 3790, 3791, 3792, 3793, 3794, 3795, 3796, 3797, 3798, 3799, 3800, 3801, 3802, 3803, 3804, 3805, 3806, 3807, 3808, 3809, 3810, 3811, 3812, 3813, 3814, 3815, 3816, 3817, 3818, 3819, 3820, 3821, 3822, 3823, 3824, 3825, 3826, 3827, 3828, 3829, 3830, 3831, 3832, 3833, 3834, 3835, 3836, 3837, 3838, 3839, 384

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Under Article V of the Convention of March 1, 1894, and the demarcation of the previous year, Britain abandoned her claims to Kiang Hung and Munglem in favour of China on condition that they would never be ceded to another power. Burma in 1885 had purported to cede these native states to France. Chinese vessels were permitted to ply the Irrawaddy (they never have done so and the Chinese lost this privilege when British extra-territorial rights were abrogated in February, 1943), and Namwan, a territory of sixty square miles necessary for the transport of troops from Bhamo to Namkham in British Burma, was open to the passage of British forces not exceeding two hundred in one unit and not more than twenty at any one time without giving China previous notice.⁴⁰ Sima, a fortified pass southeast of Myitkyina, and part of Kokang Circle in North Hsenwi State went to China. Major Davies, in his *Confidential Report to the Indian Army Intelligence Branch*, condemned the settlement: "from a military point of view the boundary is the worst that could have been selected."⁴¹

Opportunity for revision of the unfavorable Convention of 1894 was provided by the cession by China to France in Contravention of the Treaty of 1894 of a portion of Kiang Hung State on June 20, 1895.⁴² Consequently Britain and China concluded a new treaty which returned Kokang to Hsenwi, recovered Sima, secured a perpetual lease without conditions on Namwan, appointed additional British consuls in Yunnan, and provided for a joint commission to demarcate the entire frontier between Burma and China.⁴³ This agreement is regarded as the most important document in Sino-British relations along China's southern boundary.

In the winter of 1897 the Joint Commission was appointed. Sir Herbert Thirkell White and Mr. E. C. S. George met Gen-

⁴⁰ Article II, Treaty of 1894.

⁴¹ *Burma-China Boundary between the Taiping and the Shweli*, *op. cit.*, 6.

⁴² *British and Foreign State Papers*, 87 (1894-95), 25-30.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 89 (1896-97), 25-30. Found also in Hertslet, *China Treaties*, 3rd ed. (London, 1908), I, 113-19; J. V. A. MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China, 1894-1919* (New York, 1921), I, 94-8; and with map in Inspector General of Customs, *Treaties, Conventions, etc., Between China and Foreign States*, 2nd ed. (Shanghai, 1917), I, 532-8. The latter contains a Chinese copy of the treaty.

agreed to facilitate the China overland trade and to provide for a joint commission to delimit the frontier. Little progress was made on the frontiers until the Sino-British Convention of March 1, 1894, provided for the appointment of a second boundary commission, arranged for the appointment of a Chinese consul in Rangoon and a British consul at Manwyne, and permitted the establishment of telegraphic connection between Bhamo and Yunnanfu.³⁷ Article VIII of the Convention admitted British goods and Burmese produce except rice and salt free of Burma duty if destined for the overland trade to China, and reduced the standard schedule of the Chinese Maritime Customs by three-tenths for land imports from Burma and the export duty by four-tenths on goods carried overland from China to Burma.

Despite these special preferential tariffs only an insignificant overland trade developed along the Bhamo, Hsenwi, and Keng Tung frontiers. At the time of the Washington Naval Conference in 1922, Mr. Sastri, the Indian delegate, informed Dr. Sze that India [Burma] wished to terminate the special tariffs, and Dr. C. T. Wang informed Sir Miles Lampson in Nanking on December 20, 1928, that China intended to apply her new customs tariff uniformly on all land and sea frontiers. The new Treaty Between His Majesty and the President of the Chinese Republic Relating to the Chinese Customs Tariff, Etc., was signed at Nanking on December 20, 1928, to take effect from February 1, 1929.³⁸

After the new custom tariff went into effect trans-frontier exports to China decreased from Ch.\$5,500,000 in 1927 to less than \$1,000,000 in 1936, six-sevenths of which was raw cotton and cotton yarn. The import trade, four-fifths of which was raw silk which has been displaced by Japanese rayon, decreased by similar proportions. An erratic trade that fluctuates in accordance with silver prices and exchange restrictions is the import of silver from China. During the year 1932-33 alone, 5,557,310 ounces of silver passed down the river from Bhamo; in 1935-36 little more than 585,000 ounces went overland to Burma.³⁹ The export of salt to Yunnan has remained fairly constant at about

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 87 (1894-95), 1911.

³⁸ The treaty and correspondence relating thereto is found in *League of Nations Treaty Series*, XC (1929), 351-9. See also Cmd. 3319 in *Parl. Papers*, 1928-29, XXIII.

³⁹ *Statistical Abstract for British India 1926-27 to 1935-36*, Cmd. 5801 in *Parl. Papers*, 1937-38, XXIX.

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eral Liu, and from November 1897 until May 1900 the frontier was under negotiation.⁴⁴ During the open seasons of 1897-99 good progress was made by the survey party in a general alignment of China's border in the trans-Mekong sector. Boundary pillars were set up, and by 1900 a gap of only two hundred miles remained to be marked. Here Sir George Scott, who had succeeded Sir Herbert Thirkell White as the British Commissioner in 1898, and General Liu and Mr. Chen were unable to agree. The party broke up, leaving two hundred miles from boundary pillar 97 on the north bank of the Namting River to Pangsang on the Namkha, both tributaries of the Salween, undemarcated. For thirty-five years detailed maps of China and Burma have shown the divergence between the Scott and the Liu-Chen lines. Chang Ch'eng Sun's *Sino-Burmese Frontier Problems* (in Chinese) is a careful discussion of the disputed area from the Chinese viewpoint and reproduces the famous "five-color map" depicting maximal Chinese and British demands.⁴⁵ The territory lying between the boundaries contended for by Burma and China was treated as a no-man's land into which permission to enter from the British side was denied foreigners. The disputed area was occupied by the wild Was who are thought by many to be the aboriginals of Thailand, loosely united into the principal states of Kanghai, Mankwei, and Motel.⁴⁶

The fact that China and Britain were content to leave the Burma boundary unmarked for a distance of two hundred miles from 1900 to 1935 would seem to indicate that the area was of little value. Such was not, however, actually the case. The disputed district is about 100 miles from the great Namtu and Bawdwin silverlead holdings of the Burma Corporation. In the contested territory lies the old Chinese silver mines of Lufang. The immediate occasion for the revival of the Yunnan-Burma border dispute was the sending by the Burma Corporation of a small party of European prospectors to the Lufang mines during the fair weather of 1934-35. Wa chieftains, in collusion with Chinese bandit groups, resisted the party and in so doing invaded undoubted British territory.⁴⁷ British and Indian troops were

⁴⁴ Sir Herbert Thirkell White, *A Civil Servant in Burma* (London, 1913), 243-8.

⁴⁵ Chang Ch'eng Sun, *op. cit.* See note 55.

⁴⁶ Martin R. Norins, "Tribal Boundaries of the Burma-Yunnan Frontier," *Pacific Affairs*, XII (March 1939), 67-79, presents a wealth of detailed information on the area.

⁴⁷ *House of Commons Debates*, 5 s., 287, 1996, and *ibid.*, 292. 4.

then dispatched to drive out the invaders who retired with casualties.⁴⁸

At this point the dispute became one of international significance. Sir Alexander Cadogan, then British Ambassador to China, addressed a note to Wang Ching-wei, Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, suggesting a peaceful settlement of the dispute.⁴⁹ These negotiations resulted in a request for the selection of a neutral chairman to preside over a Joint Commission of the two Governments appointed to visit the frontier, consult the local authorities and place the proper line on the map. The British appointees were Mr. J. Clague, Commissioner of the Federated Shan States, and Mr. F. S. Grose of the Burma Frontier Service while the Chinese Government was represented by Mr. Liang Yu Koa, Minister of Railways, and Mr. Yung Ling Te, Adviser to the Treaty Commission of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The British Consul at Tengyueh, Mr. W. Stack Toller, joined the Commission as technical adviser.

Dr. Tevik Rustu Aras, President of the Council of the League of Nations, appointed Colonel Frederic Iselin, of the Swiss artillery and well known for his work in settling the Mosul boundary dispute, as neutral chairman.⁵⁰ The Chinese negotiators left Hanoi by rail for Yunnanfu, where the first meeting was held in October 1935. The British party operated from the end of the Burma Railways at Lashio. Work on the ground was begun on December 1, 1935, and the Commission signed its final report on April 24, 1937, at Yawngoan in Burmese territory after an inactive period from April 8, 1936, to January 2, 1937, during the monsoons.⁵¹ A survey party from both nations made the first reliable map of the district. In fact the failure of the commission in 1900 and 1904 was due largely to the lack of reliable topographical information. Some trouble was experienced from the Wa chiefs, but a strong joint military escort brought them under submission. The expenses of the neutral Commissioner were divided equally between China and the Government of India.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 295, 481.

⁴⁹ The notes of April 9, 1935, are in Cmd. 4884/1935.

⁵⁰ *Monthly Summary of the League of Nations*, XV (1935), 85, 147.

⁵¹ The negotiations were well summarized in *North China Herald*, May 12, 1937. V. C. Pitchford, "The Wild Wa States and Lake Nawngkhio," *Geographical Journal*, 90 (1937), 223-32, is an account, with a map, by an officer of the British survey party.

Although the report of the Iselin Commission has not been published, press accounts at the time indicated that its findings would be accepted and that the Liu-Chen line was followed the greater part of the distance.⁵² Consequently, about three-fifths of the highly mineralized territory was awarded to China. It was agreed at the outset of the negotiations that if necessary, a final conference would meet in Nanking to complete a settlement. Meantime, within two weeks after the signing of the report the Marco Polo Bridge incident occurred, and the Sino-Burma frontier has not yet been formally settled.⁵³ The work done by the Iselin Commission in 1935-37 dealt with the boundary between the Wa States and China. Sino-British notes of June 18, 1941 agreed on final settlement of the frontier in this area, but there is still a big section of the frontier further north unsettled. In practice the watershed between the Irrawaddy and the Salween has been regarded as the Sino-Burmese boundary from Bhamo northward, although the upper Shweli and the Taron tributaries of the Irrawaddy are Chinese territory. Some Chinese maps claim the territory as far south as Myitkyina, but without sound historical or ethnical basis.

Chinese territorial claims on Burma's hinterland have been advanced, particularly since the loss of Manchuria led Chinese patriots to seek compensation elsewhere. In 1931 Ch'en Yu-k'o became chief of the Bureau of Propaganda of the Yunnan Provincial Kuomintang Executive Committee, and the following year, while director of the Bureau of the Public Education, published his *Yunnan Pien-ti Wen-t'i Yan-chin*, which was translated by J. Siguret under the title *Territoires et Populations des Confins du Yunnan*.⁵⁴ Mr. Ch'en advocated redemption of territory now a part of Burma, and his views were supported by the Governor of Yunnan and by the later work of Chang Ch'eng Sun. Indeed, during the decade since 1931 Chinese nationalists have been engaged in a general examination of their national frontiers. Rather extreme claims have been advanced for sovereignty over territory which now, and for several centuries past, has been undoubted Burmese territory. Likewise, there is active Chinese interest in Tonkin, Annam, Thailand and its

⁵² Letter from Information Section, League of Nations, dated 7th May, 1940.

⁵³ For an excellent article on the Iselin Commission see *L'Illustration* of January 15, 1938.

⁵⁴ Peiping, 1937.

Lao States, and the Shan States of Burma, some of which as recently as 1885 were vaguely tributary to China which exercised also a nebulous suzerainty over much of the great peninsula of Further India.⁵⁵ As has been mentioned, some apprehension was caused in Burma by the appearance of Kuomintang influence in Yunnan and other regions not far from Burma. In order to regularize British authority along the entire Chinese frontier, Sir Hugh Stephenson announced on January 8, 1934, the extension of control over the vast Triangle.⁵⁶ This area between Tibet, Assam, and Yunnan with frontiers not fully demarcated was part of the area to which Yunnan authorities had a shadowy claim.⁵⁷ Known to the Chinese as Chianghsin-p'o and to the Kachins as Rima, the Triangle was supposed by the Chinese to have passed to their control in 1900. The British claimed that the Abor Expedition in 1911 established their claim to the area. As possible evidence of long use of the area by the Chinese as a means of entry to Tibet, the northernmost tip of Burma is known as Talok (Chinese) Pass, elevation 15,391 feet. The Triangle today is recognized as British territory, and all maps of Burma since 1885 have shown it as within Burma; as one of the "excluded areas," it is under direct control of the Governor of Burma.

British reluctance to consider questions which might arise from Yunnan's Kuomintang interest in territories at present under British administration may have been in part responsible for the fact that there was no full meeting of the Sino-British Frontier Court from 1931 until February 1936.⁵⁸ These annual meetings had been arranged for by a Sino-British agreement in 1902, coincidentally with frontier negotiations that opened an office of the Chinese Imperial Customs in Tengyueh.⁵⁹ The meeting at Nawnngma from February 8 to March 13, 1936, decided 48

⁵⁵ J. Siguret, trans., *Territories et Populations des Confins du Yunnan* (Peiping 1937) and Chang Ch'eng Sun, *Sino-Burmese Frontier Problems* (in Chinese) (Peiping, 1938), constitute a sort of gazetteer of the frontier region and a fervent exposition of China's historical interest in the area.

⁵⁶ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1933-34*, iv.

⁵⁷ Supported in Hua Ch'i-yun, "Chung-K'au Tien Mien nan-tuan-chieh-wu-ti-jen-shih" (Recognition of the Importance of the Question of the Southern Section of the Yunnan-Burma Frontier), *Eastern Miscellany* (June 1935), XXXII. See also Sze-Teh Hsu, "The Burma Road: How China Lost her Southern Provinces," *The Peoples Tribune*, XXIX (1940), 250-62, for China's general claims to parts of the frontier areas.

⁵⁸ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 9.

⁵⁹ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, ed. 1931, XII, agreement no. XI, 209.

out of 73 pending cases; 18 cases were postponed to the next frontier meeting, and seven were adjourned for further study on the spot. The meeting was reported a "distinct success" and subsequent relations with Chinese officials have been cordial. Aside from occasional incidents over opium smuggling and trans-frontier raids by local bandits, the Chinese frontier from Tibet to the Mekong has been quiet. The explorers Kaulbeck and Tracey entered Tibet from Burma without permission during the dry season of 1935-36, but aside from "incidents" of this type and the occasional visits of Tibetan Buddhists to Rangoon or Mandalay, Burma and Tibet are but slightly aware of each other's existence.

CHINESE IN BURMA

Records of the earliest European travelers to Burma mention the presence of small numbers of Chinese in various parts of the country. Chinese merchants were settled in the larger towns, particularly in the vicinity of Ava, or were encountered as itinerant traders who made annual visits from Yunnan. There is no record of Chinese coming in large numbers to Burma by sea before 1800, except occasionally in coasting vessels along the Tenasserim peninsula. Symes, Crawford, and others in the service of the East India Company noted the existence of Chinese colonies in Upper Burma. Sir Archibald Campbell's personal translator in the war of 1824 was a Chinese youth with only a limited knowledge of Burmese and English. Old Amara-pura has the ruins of a Chinese temple that contains the names of 5,000 prominent Chinese merchants who perished in Burma during the nineteenth century alone in search of jade.⁶⁰ Only fragmentary information is available on the arrival of Chinese in Burma before the first general census of Burma in 1872. The first Cantonese merchant in Mandalay arrived in 1861 by way of Singapore.⁶¹ However, the number of Chinese residents was never large until the beginning of the present century when immigrants from Kwangtung and Fukien began to arrive by sea, usually after a few months or years spent in the Straits Settlements. According to the census of 1911 there were then 122,000 Chinese in Burma, 1,200 of them being Yunnanese Moslems. By 1931 the total number had risen to 193,594, of whom 127,049

⁶⁰ *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, I, Pt. II, 280.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 283.

were males.⁶² The present number is in excess of 225,000. During the decade 1921-31 Chinese residents of Burma increased thirty per cent whereas Indians increased only fifteen per cent. There are however four times as many Indians as Chinese in the country.

Of the 193,594 Chinese in the Province in 1931, 86,361 were Fukienese or Cantonese, 40,688 Yunnanese, and the remaining 66,445 were from elsewhere in China south of the Yangtze. Burma-born Chinese number 103,518, more than half the total.⁶³ China supplies the largest number of immigrants for the Northern Shan States; in Kokang Circle of North Hsenwi State, three-fourths of the population are Chinese who came overland from Yunnan or who are permanent residents of the district.⁶⁴ North Hsenwi State is the only place in Burma where large numbers of Chinese are engaged in agriculture.

All except about 20,000 Chinese continue to use their native languages habitually, regardless of the fact that some of them are from Chinese families that have been in Burma more than a century. Many Rangoon Chinese of the second generation know little written Chinese.

Chinese acquire the Burmese language more readily than do Indians, and all Chinese in the colony, except the recent arrivals and the Yunnanese who live on the soil in the Shan States, speak Burmese fluently. As an indication of its importance in Burma, candidates for the Indian Civil Service may offer Chinese as an optional language.

Chinese immigrants fan out from Rangoon along the railway and steamer lines; nearly one-half of the Chinese in Burma are found within one hundred miles of the city. The Irrawaddy delta had 64,276 Chinese residents in 1921; in 1931 the number had increased to 86,144.⁶⁵ Moulmein in 1911 had 5,603 Chinese; 8,433 in 1912; in 1935 more than 12,000.⁶⁶ Although the Chinese in the country are respected for their ambition and industry, they have not in Burma acquired the predominant place occupied by their compatriots in Thailand and the Straits Settlements. The Chinese are decidedly second to Indians in the commercial life of Burma.

⁶² *Census Report*, 1931, Pt. I 198-200.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁶ *Rangoon Gazette*, July 17, 1935.

In the 1931 census the Chinese were classified by occupation as follows:

	<i>Per Cent</i>
Traders and merchants	41
Carpenters and workers in metal and leather.....	38
Semi-skilled workers	9
Clerical workers	5
Miscellaneous	7

Chinese general merchandise shops are found in nearly all the cities and towns of Burma; and in many towns Chinese are the sole agents for the sale of petroleum products. In many towns of Lower Burma they control the local liquor and opium licenses; in addition they are active bidders for fishery and ferry rights on many streams; because of their prominence in the control of Government liquor and opium licenses, and pawnshops, they are out of favor in many parts of Burma. A speaker in the Burma Legislative Council in February 1936 declared that almost all cocaine in Burma was made in Japan and smuggled by sea from China, and he commented upon the difficulty of controlling imports of opium from China.⁶⁷ More than fifty Chinese are repatriated to China each year under the Habitual Offenders Act. The Burmese, however, despite Sino-Burmese riots in 1931, regard the Chinese as *pauk paw* (next of kin) and everywhere there is a greater comity between Burmese and Chinese than between Burmese and Indians. Many lower Burma villages, particularly in the Tennasserim Division, have Chinese headmen. To a larger degree than in Siam and Malaysia, Burma Chinese come to regard the country as home, and relatively few return to China after having spent many years in the colony. In general, Chinese residents of Burma seldom interest themselves greatly in politics or acquire considerable political influence. However, two Rangoon Chinese, Aw Ya Wa and Hoke Sein—the latter known locally as the “king of Chinatown”—were popularly credited with having caused the disintegration of the United Party, once the most powerful Burmese political group. Charges of bribery, profit from local corruption and vice, and collusion between the Chinese and the party leaders brought about its decline.

Culturally the Burma Chinese, despite numerous intermarriages with Burmese women, exhibit a persistent tendency to retain their separate identity. It is alleged that children of Sino-

⁶⁷ Rangoon Gazette, March 9, 1936.

Burmese marriages acquire the best qualities of both races; the boys frequently wear Chinese costume and have both a Burmese and a Chinese name, whereas the girls usually wear the Burmese longyi and use a Burmese name. In 1935 there were 12,707 Chinese school children between the ages of five and ten years; of these, 837 were in four registered Chinese-English schools and 2,925 attended sixty-five unregistered Chinese schools;⁶⁸ nearly 9,000 attended other schools along with Burmese children. The present tendency is for Chinese students to attend Burmese schools. The largest Chinese school in Rangoon has been closed for several years due to difficulties in administration and finance. Rangoon and upcountry towns have Chinese newspapers, but no Chinese book has been published in Burma since 1910.⁶⁹ There is an all-Burma Chinese athletic association and there are numerous Chinese religious, social, and fraternal societies. A Chinese football team visited Burma in June 1940, and received a hearty welcome, but due to the uncertainties of war the Government of India refused permission for the team to visit Calcutta.

Middle-class Chinese in Rangoon live in a restricted area not far from the center of the town. Several wealthy Chinese have magnificent homes in the European section. Several exhibitions of Chinese art have been held in Rangoon, and the Burmese have the greatest respect for the civilization and culture of their great northern neighbor. At the same time, the Burmese find it difficult to submerge their fear of eventual absorption by China; Burmese nationalists in groups or singly have visited China; during 1939 a party including several *Thakins* spent several weeks in nationalist China and, upon returning to Rangoon, Thakin Nu wrote a laudatory account of modern China.⁷⁰ In December 1939 a learned Chinese Buddhist, the Abbot Taihsu, arrived in Rangoon for an extended visit in Burma. More than 10,000 Burmese Buddhists gave him an enthusiastic reception at the railway station. During 1940 two Chinese goodwill missions visited Burma. One under the leadership of General Wu Te-Chen, formerly Mayor of Greater Shanghai and later Civil Governor of Kwangtung, received a formal welcome, and the other under Mr. Tai-Chi-Tao received a remarkable demonstration from various Chinese and Burmese cultural associations.

⁶⁸ *Campbell Report*, 147.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 269. Three Chinese newspapers were published in Rangoon in 1940.

⁷⁰ *Gandar-Layit or China* (Rangoon, 1940).

Likewise, Burmese associations sent an unofficial goodwill mission to China. A Rangoon Chinese temple in early 1940 held regular prayers for British victory in Europe, and there have been numerous efforts to strengthen cultural ties between the two countries and to enlist Burmese sympathy on China's side of the Far East conflict. These efforts, although aided by a certain natural affinity between Burmese and Chinese, have to overcome a degree of Burmese admiration for Japan as the champion of all Asia against the West.

Chinese business men in Rangoon promote their common interests through a Chinese Chamber of Commerce. All members, including those who are not British subjects, may vote for the Chamber's representative in the Burma legislature. The candidate, however, must be a British subject. The Chinese Overseas Bank, the Bank of China, and Chinese insurance, shipping, rice, and mercantile firms maintain branches in Rangoon. The Bank of China operates five branches along the Yunnan-Burma Road and payment of Chinese customs dues may be made through these branches. No Chinese-registered steamers are engaged in the Burma trade.

Sir Lee Ah Yain, the first Chinese to hold high office in the country, served the Government of Burma for several years as Minister of Forests during the governorships of Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Charles Innes. A Chinese contractor, Ah Shark, who came to Burma as a carpenter, erected the Legislative Council Chamber, the buildings and barracks at Mingaladon cantonment outside Rangoon, wireless stations at Mingaladon and Tavoy, and most of the buildings of Rangoon University. Chan Chor Khine, a leading Chinese capitalist of Rangoon contributed a lakh of rupees for the erection of a gymnasium and open-air theater at the University.

Unlike Bangkok, Rangoon has had a Chinese consulate for decades, and in 1940 this was raised to a consulate-general. The Chinese Government takes an active interest in its citizens who reside in Burma, and they are allowed to elect two representatives to the National Assembly of China from among candidates approved by the Chinese Central Government. Elections are held by the Chinese consul and are restricted to nationals registered with his office.⁷¹ The Chinese in Burma are entrenched safely, but unobtrusively. While in a prophetic mood, an autho-

⁷¹ Rangoon *Gazette*, August 2, 1937.

city on Burma has suggested that

. . . after a period of anarchy more or less prolonged, our descendants may find Burma a province of China. China has a great civilization, and it is quite possible that absorption of Burma by the Chinese will be the best destiny for Burmans.⁷²

Somewhat facetiously, Furnivall ventured the prediction that, should the above eventuate for Burma, the playing of soccer football by the mixed race would be the sole memorial of British rule in Burma. At any rate, Sir Charles Crosthwaite's opinion, "China does not forget her claim to Burma," is perhaps correct,⁷³ particularly in such frontier areas as Keng Tung, which paid tribute to both Burma and China at the time of annexation.⁷⁴ Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself declared in his fourth lecture on Nationalism in the *San Min Chu I* that Burma "formerly belonged to China."⁷⁵

The first steps in the effective limitation of immigration from India and China were achieved during 1941. In September 1941 a special Chinese mission on immigration arrived in Rangoon from Chungking and spent some time in discussion of the vexatious question of Chinese immigration. In his speech opening the conference Premier U Saw spoke with pride of this occasion as ". . . the first time since a new constitution was received by this country in 1937 that responsible ministers of this country have had the privilege of negotiating an agreement with representatives of a foreign Power," and expressed the hope that agreement would be reached on "our proposals for imposing reasonable restrictions on Chinese immigration into our country." T. K. Tseng, the head of the Chinese delegation with the rank of Ambassador, replied cordially to U Saw's remarks, but added that his delegation was respected to ". . . protect the legitimate rights and interests as well as maintain the status of the Chinese residents in Burma in accordance with treaty obligations between His Majesty's Government and the Chinese Government." Although the documents are not yet available, it may be assumed that some measure of regulation and limitation faces Chinese immigration to Burma. In her determination to end unlimited

⁷² Furnivall, *Political Economy of Burma*, cit., 1931 ed., Preface, xxiv. The statement was deleted from the second edition.

⁷³ Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*, 233.

⁷⁴ Enriquez, *A Burmese Loneliness*, *op. cit.*, 49.

⁷⁵ Frank W. Price, trans., *San Min Chu I* (Shanghai, 1927), 93.

emigration from China, Burma followed the action of neighboring Thailand as an example.

With respect to land frontiers, it was announced that Sino-British notes of June 18, 1941, agreed on final demarcation of the frontier between Burma and China in the vicinity of the unadministered Wa states. The agreed line made certain adjustments in the Iselin report, mainly to the advantage of China. A separate exchange of notes provided for Chinese participation, not to exceed 49 per cent of the capital involved, in any mining enterprises which may be undertaken by British concerns in the area formerly under dispute.

Sino-Burmese relations during 1941 were characterized by awareness of the necessity for closer contacts between the two neighbors. Burma took the initiative by sending a goodwill mission of eight representative Burmese who flew from Rangoon to Chungking on December 12, 1940, for an 18-day visit to Free China. Headed by U Ba Lwin, with Daw Mya Sein, a prominent Burmese lady, as deputy leader, the party was conducted on a tour of bombed Chungking. The mission presented gifts to Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and made several addresses which were anti-Japanese in tone. They expressed the deep admiration and sympathy of Burma for China's cause.

China reciprocated by sending in August 1941 a goodwill mission under leadership of Dr. Chiang Mon-lin. U Saw received the mission, which was given a cordial reception by Burmese Buddhists. The Burma-China Cultural Association and its president U Ba Lwin gave considerable attention to their official guests. Dr. Lo Chia-lun, chancellor of National Central University, was chosen president of the Sino Burmese Cultural Association. An exchange of university professors was proposed and promotion of industrial and commercial relations was initiated. U Ba Lwin announced that U Ba Choe, a member of the party, had translated much of Sun Yat-Sen's "Three Principles of the People" into Burmese.

It must be remembered, however, that not all Burmans desire closer relations with China. The appointment of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek as allied commander in "such portions of Indo-China and Thailand as may be available to the United Nations" must have aroused misgivings in Thailand, as such an announcement, should it be made, would in Burma. It is known

in both countries that spokesmen of Kuomintang China repeatedly have proposed the entry of Burma and Siam into a federal union with China.

BURMA AND THAILAND

Siam, now more properly known as Thailand, is known to the Burmese as *Yodaya Pyee* (the country of Ayuthia), a reminder of the four successful and two unsuccessful Burmese attempts between 1547 and 1767 to sack that ancient capital of Siam.⁷⁶ The historic enmity between the two countries has been replaced by cordial relations and friendly interest. The Burma press contains frequent accounts of events in the neighboring country, and comparison of present financial conditions are presented invariably as favorable to Thailand.⁷⁷

It has been suggested that *Sinyetha* (poor man) policy of Dr. Ba Maw's national party and the economic plan of Luang Pradist Manudharm had a common origin and proposed a joint social program for improvement of the status of the peasantry in both countries through collectivization and state socialism. However, the Thai plan antedated Dr. Ba Maw's proposals by several years.⁷⁸ In point of fact, the Burmese are essentially self centered and, until very recently, there has been only slight interchange of thought between the two countries.

The annual official *Report on the Administration of Burma* during the past two decades either commented repeatedly upon the friendly relations with Siam or refrained from mentioning Burma's eastern neighbor at all. Actually, trade and travel between the two countries is of minor consequence. Only seldom do ships of Thai registry touch ports in Burma, and except for casual trade between villages along the frontiers and occasional caravans of Indian and Shan merchants, commerce between the two countries is almost non-existent. In 1935-36, for example, the export of 25,410 maunds (about 1,000 tons) of paddy as received for shipment to Moulmein, from villages on the Siamese side was the largest item in the report of the customs officer at Kawkareik. Again, the rice and teak of both countries are competitive in the world markets, and the Thai insist that their rice is of better quality. In 1939, for instance, Ceylon, a principal

⁷⁶ Harvey, *op. cit.*, deals with the episodes in detail.

⁷⁷ Rangoon *Gazette*, December 24, 1931, and January 4, 1937.

⁷⁸ The remarkable program of Luang Pradist Manudharm may be found in Landon, *op. cit.*, 260-323.

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customer of both countries, took Burmese rice valued at Rs. 33,049,000 and teak to the value of Rs. 273,000, while from Thailand she imported Rs. 6,537,908 worth of rice and teak worth Rs. 494,000. Thailand's products were shipped around Singapore.⁷⁹ A fair motor road exists between Keng Tung in the Southern Shan States and Chiengrai in the Thai Lao States. A Thai consular agent is stationed at Moulmein, where his duties are concerned principally with the collection of royalty on Siamese teak floated down the Salween and its tributaries. For years the Siamese consul in Rangoon was a subordinate in one of the British trading firms. To travel overland from Rangoon to Bangkok by car, advisable only in the dry season, it is necessary to go by way of the Keng Tung-Chiengrai road, a journey of 1,500 miles to cover the 350-mile air-line that separates the two capitals. Airplanes regularly make the journey in less than two hours. Should a venturesome European make the land journey from Rangoon to Bangkok by way of Moulmein and Raheng, the event is sufficiently rare to be certain of notice in the press of both countries.

Thai influence in Burma is seen principally in the Shan States. Several members of the household of Sao Kwang Kiao Intaleng, late *Sawbwa* of Keng Tung, received part of their education in Bangkok. Throughout the Shan States there is much admiration for Thailand, whose Buddhist King is the only independent defender of that faith. Evidences of Thai influence in architecture and handicrafts abound in Keng Tung, particularly in the monasteries and the state buildings. The *Sawbwa's Haw* (palace), however, is a travesty on Indian architecture. Only 9,169 Siamese were enumerated in the Burma Census of 1931, and nearly all these were residents of lower Tenasserim and the Shan States adjacent to Thailand. There is no Siamese colony in Rangoon, although descendants of Siamese prisoners of war, now thoroughly Burmanized, are found in various parts of Burma. Likewise there are few Burmans in Thailand aside from the descendants of a small group engaged in the Thai gem trade.

Lower Burma was the avenue for the earliest contracts between Siam and the East India Company.⁸⁰ During the first

⁷⁹ Extract from Ceylon Administration Report in *Survey of the Import Trade of India*, prepared by His Majesty's Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Burma and Ceylon (London, 1940).

⁸⁰ These are fully detailed in J. Anderson, *English Interchange with Siam in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1890). See also Maurice Collis, *Siam and the East* (London, 1935).

Anglo-Burmese war, Siamese opinion was divided: some officials advocated combining with the British to destroy the common enemy, while others proposed assisting Burma against the British attack.⁸¹ A Eurasian named Gibson in the service of the King of Burma was dispatched to Cochin China to negotiate a joint attack upon Siam should she join Britain in an attack upon Burma.⁸² During and immediately after the war, Amherst's policy was the maintenance of a balance of power between Burma and Siam.

During the past century, Anglo-Siamese relations across Burma were concerned almost entirely with the peace of the frontier, the protection of British commercial interests in the Chiengrai area adjacent to Burma and the maintenance of Siam as a buffer state against French expansion in Indo-China. During the century ending in 1930, the general attitude of the British in Burma toward Siam was well expressed by a careful observer who had served Britain in both countries: "Siam is a country rich enough to inspire cupidity, weak enough to tempt ambition, and foolish enough to court embroilments."⁸³

Under Article III of Sir John Bowring's treaty with Siam in 1855, Britain made a beginning of consular courts in that country. British subjects were given permission to reside only in the immediate vicinity of Bangkok.⁸⁴ This handicap to British expansion from Burma did not prevent British firms from developing an extensive trade in teak from the Chiengmai area. In 1864 a joint Anglo-Siamese commission agreed upon the long frontier line down the Malay Peninsula between the Thoungyin and the Pakchan rivers as surveyed by Captain A. H. Bagge of the Royal Engineers and approved by General Fytche.⁸⁵ Aside from the arbitration which awarded Victoria Island in the Pakchan to British Burma, this frontier has remained unchanged to the present except for recent minor adjustments caused by shifting channels of the streams separating the two countries.⁸⁶ In the north, the feudatory chief of Chiengmai, then almost indepen-

⁸¹ Wilson, *Documents*, cit., 142, 173, lists the sources.

⁸² Anne Thackeray Ritchie and Richardson Evans, eds., *Lord Amherst and the British Advance Eastward to Burma* (Oxford, 1894), 98.

⁸³ G. E. Mitton (Lady Scott), *Scott of the Shan Hills: Orders and Impressions* (London, 1936), 161.

⁸⁴ Sir John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (London, 1857), II, 217. Article IV of the Treaty.

⁸⁵ Fytche, *op. cit.*, II, 317-20.

⁸⁶ Cmd. 5475/1937 is an exchange of notes on the Tenasserim frontier,



Admiral Mountbatten inspecting troops of a Punjab Regiment at Imphal.



R.) Brig. Gen. Cannon, Lt. Gen. Sun, Lt. Ge

the boundary with Keng Tung, and in 1891 a Siamese Survey Officer was murdered near the frontier. The final settlement of the Burma-Siam boundary from the Salween to the Mekong was concluded in 1892-93 "along the line selected in 1890" to the point where Burma, Thailand and French Indo-China now meet. The work was done by a joint Anglo-Siamese Commission which worked amicably under the leadership of Mr. Hildebrand, Mr. Scott and Mr. Leveson on the British side. Sir Charles Crosthwaite summarized the final settlement: "The only difference [from the Elias line] of importance was that the minor state of Chieng Kong, which bestrode the Mekong and was supposed to be more or less tributary to Keng Tung, was as regards the eastern or trans-Mekong portion, of which Mong Hsing was the chief town, assigned to Siam."⁸⁹

As has been pointed out, Siam's claim to Mong Hsing passed almost immediately to the French by the Treaty of Chantabun on October 3, 1893. The British thereupon reoccupied Mong Hsing, which became a cause of serious Anglo-French contention until it was awarded to France in 1896. Sir George Scott declared of this Anglo-French rivalry which displaced Siam on the Upper Mekong: "Our mission was a perfunctory preliminary to climbing down. Monsieur Pavie's was a flagrant example of bulging out." Siam was able to salvage from her claims only the towns of Chieng Hsen and Chieng Kong and their environs that lay south of the great bend of the Mekong over which neither the British nor the French, nor the Burmese had even shadowy claims before 1885.

To the credit of the British in Burma, there is not incorporated within that country any area which had been for any length of time under Siamese sovereignty.⁹⁰ Under the Anglo-French agreement of April 8, 1904, Great Britain received compensation only in the Malay states of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, and Perak which had been under a loose Siamese protectorate. These states were ceded by Siam under treaty of 1909.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*, 229-30. *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, I, I, 303-13, is the official account of the settlement. Other sources are cited herein, 89-92. The French case is in the *Livre Jaune, Documents Diplomatique, Affaires du Haute-Mekong et de Siam, 1893-1902*. Lord Curzon wrote a brilliant defense of Britain's record along the Mekong in "The Siamese Boundary Question," *The Nineteenth Century*, XXXIV (July 1893), 34-55. Cmd. 4112/1932 records a recent boundary settlement between Siam and Keng Tung.

⁹⁰ Henderson and La Fuz, *op. cit.*, contain well-documented studies of British relations with Siam during the annexation of Upper Burma.

⁹¹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 102 (1908-09), 124, 125.

Despite a feeling by British officials that Thailand was the source of much of the illicit opium smuggled into Burma during the past decade, relations between the two countries remain consistently friendly. Recent opinion, after commenting upon the fact that Burma and Siam a century ago were in similar stages of economic development, indicated that European business interests are essentially less secure in Burma than in modern Thailand.⁹² In contrast with Thailand's demand for rectification of her frontier with French Indo-China during the Franco-Japanese crisis of 1940, Mom Rajawongse Seni Parmoj, Thai Minister to the United States, issued a formal statement to the effect that Thailand considers her naturally defensible frontier with Burma quite satisfactory.⁹³ During this century, particularly during the reign of King Prajadhipok, Siam was considered as being definitely within the British orbit, and the Anglo-Thai non-aggression pact concluded in June 1940 is believed to secure Thailand's friendship along Burma's eastern frontier. Following the conclusion of the pact, Thailand announced a minor boundary settlement with Burma by which the two countries recognized the thalweg of the Mae Sai River as the frontier. Thailand gained "1,600 acres of land, 10,000 teak trees, and some good pasture."⁹⁴ This concession passed almost unnoticed in Burma, but was widely proclaimed in Thailand, and it whetted Thai appetite for the later acquisition of some 20,000 square miles of French Indo-China after sporadic clashes with French forces. Early in 1941 the Governor of Burma issued a proclamation which prohibited aliens from entering districts of Burma adjacent to Thailand and French Indo-China.

Burma suddenly became aware of the potential danger of aggression from the Thai side during 1940. The Prime Minister of Burma, in a public address, stressed the possibility of invasion in the event of a drive by any power against the great British base at Singapore. Those who had criticized test blackouts in Rangoon and elsewhere, and had voted against expenditures for defense, changed their views and there was a demand for more energetic measures to put Burma's sea and land defenses in condition to repel attack from any source.

A Thai Goodwill Mission to the British Dominions in Asia and Australia visited Burma and spoke of the "clean white pages

⁹² Furnivall, *Political Economy of Burma*, cit., 1931 ed., Preface, xviii.

⁹³ *New York Times*, October 6, 1940.

⁹⁴ *Singapore Straits Budget*, October 17, 1940.

of our (Anglo-Siamese) happy history throughout the centuries"⁹⁵ Under leadership of Captain Laung Dhamrong Nava-svasti, Thai Minister of Justice, the mission was composed of Thai civilians. The group was received enthusiastically by British and Burmese officials and by the Mon (Talaing) association in Rangoon. The Thai party arrived in Burma by a plane of the British Overseas Airways on September 23 and departed for Calcutta and Simla on September 30 after a visit to Mandalay. Mr. James Baxter, the present financial adviser to the Governor of Burma, spent several years in Bangkok where he occupied a similar position with the Siamese Ministry of Finance.

THE KRA CANAL

Popular journalism perpetuates the rumor that Japan is about to make the British naval base at Singapore of doubtful value by building a canal from the Gulf of Siam to the Indian Ocean, across the narrowest part of the Malay Peninsula at the point where British Burma and Thailand are separated only by a narrow stream. Proposals for canal construction across the neck of land which takes its name from the Siamese village of Kra, are as old as the first foreign accounts of the area, and since the World War the amount of world interest focused on a canal at Kra is truly astonishing. Within the past two decades accounts have appeared in American, British, Canadian, Chinese, Russian, German, Japanese, French, Indian and Australian newspapers and magazines.

Brief examination of the historical background and geographical situation of the entire Kra region reveals that Kra itself is a place of little importance since the Thai administrative headquarters for the district on the western side of the Malay Peninsula are at Renoung, near the mouth of the Pakchan River. Much of the history of the upper Malay peninsula is obscure. We do know, however, that the Kra region, and the Tenasserim coast immediately north of Kra were in Siamese hands from 1373 until the incursions begun by the Burmese conqueror Alaungpaya in 1759. From the time of Alaungpaya until the first Anglo-Burmese war in 1824, the coastal regions on both sides of Kra were nominally in Burmese hands, subject to frequent Siamese invasions. For centuries the population about Kra

⁹⁵ Rangoon Gazette Weekly, October 7, 1940.

has been predominantly Siamese mixed with Malay and other local groups; the area was almost depopulated when it passed under British control.⁹⁶

The region south of Kra and north to the Tenasserim River was a favorite haunt of early European adventurers engaged in the spice trade or the equally profitable profession of piracy. During the year 1509-1641, when the Portuguese controlled the Straits of Malacca, British, French, and Dutch merchants, rivals for the considerable foreign trade of Siam, were obliged to cross the peninsula at Kra or by one of the passes to the north. In 1663 French priests crossed Tenasserim to Siam by the Kra route, and soon many other Europeans followed the same route.⁹⁷ By 1761 there appears to have been a carriage road across the isthmus, just north of Kra,⁹⁸ while during 1826 Captain Leal exchanged Burmese and Siamese prisoners across the Kra route.⁹⁹ About this time the Siamese ceded King's Island, north of Kra, to the French who used it as a naval base during the Anglo-French wars for supremacy in India.¹⁰⁰

Britain has been the most active contender for sovereign rights in the Malay Peninsula. Her acquisition of the Singapore end of the peninsula began with the cession of that island in 1810; her ownership of the western side of the peninsula from Moulmein to Kra is due to the conquests of Lieutenant-Colonel Miles during the Anglo-Burmese war of 1824. While Miles was beating his way toward Kra the Siamese army appeared at Moulmein ready to join hands with the Burmese, their traditional enemies, in preventing British establishment in Tenasserim and Kra. A display of Britain's sea power and a knowledge that Bangkok would be attacked by the shallow-draft warships of that time prevented the Siamese from taking the field.¹⁰¹

During Siam's troubled existence as a buffer state supplying periodic slices of territory to both British Malaya and French Indo-China, there was imminent danger that the British would annex the entire peninsula.¹⁰² Indeed, maps colored a significant red from Burma to Singapore were not unknown after 1900.

⁹⁶ *British Burma Gazetteer*, II, 405.

⁹⁷ Adrien Launay, *Histoire Generale de la Societe des Missions Etrangeres* (Paris, 1894), I, 74.

⁹⁸ Wilson's *Documents*, cit., App. lxxvi.

⁹⁹ *Calcutta Gazette*, January 25, February 8, 1827. Quoted in Wilson, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ For a summary of the history and geography of the Kra area see *British Burma Gazetteer*, II, 386, 470.

¹⁰¹ Major J. J. Snodgrass, *Narrative of the Burmese War* (London, 1827), 29, 81.

¹⁰² For a definitive study of Anglo-French rivalry in Siam see La Ferte, *op. cit.*

The Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1897 denied, in the region south of Bangkok, "special privilege . . . as regards land or trade . . . to the government or subjects of a third power without the written consent of the British Government."¹⁰³ Under the somewhat milder treaty of 1909 Siam's suzerain rights in the states of Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, and Perak were acquired by Britain. At the same time Siam undertook to cede no territory, grant no coaling station or dock rights, and offer the use of no harbor on the peninsula exclusively to any other nation to the prejudice of British interests. This agreement, still in force, definitely limits the possibility of canal construction at Kra within treaty rights to two powers: England and Thailand.

Geographically, the Malay Peninsula is an extension of the mountains of Yunnan which run south through Siam and eastern Burma to re-emerge as Sumatra and Java. There are a number of passes between Penang and the mouth of the Salween, but only at Kra is a canal possible. Forty miles north of Kra the mountains reach an elevation of 2,200 feet and within 100 miles on either side of the pass elevations reach 4,000 feet. The malarial country about Kra is a subject to the recurring rains and dry weather of a monsoon climate. Kra receives more than 165 inches of rain during the months from May to October, and very little during the remainder of the year. This fact is mentioned since it means that a canal, if constructed, must necessarily be at sea level in the absence of sufficient water to operate a lock system during the months of the heaviest rice shipments. The isthmus of Kra is narrowed by the tidal estuary of the Pak-chan River which flows into the Indian Ocean or, more properly, the Andaman Sea. The river is a mountain stream from its source thirty miles above Kra to that town. During the hot weather from February to April the Pak-chan is dry except for reservoirs caused by obstructions in its channel. The same is true of the Tayoung River on the Thailand side. At one time it was believed erroneously "that during the spring tides the two rivers often unite," and that they might be formed into one with little or no difficulty.¹⁰⁴ During the rainy season the Pak-chan looks a noble stream in full tide at Kra, but at low tide in the dry season it is not thirty feet wide or three feet deep. For several miles below Kra the channel is extremely tortuous,

¹⁰³ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 102 (1908-09), 124-5.

¹⁰⁴ Wilson, *op. cit.*

particularly near the mouth of the Ma-lee-won, its principal tributary, where a series of granitoid ledges cause swift tidal flows. Furthermore, the tide rises twenty-five feet on the Burma side and only three feet on the Thailand side of the peninsula. Technically the construction of a canal at Kra would be easier than the excavation at Panama, but it would not be a matter simply of removing "yards of alluvial silt over a distance of fifteen miles," as has been alleged.

Colonel Fytche, as a member of the Anglo-Siamese boundary commission, actually reached Kra at high water during the rainy season of 1864, in the little Government steamer *Nemesis*.¹⁰⁵ However, more recent visitors to Kra report it as inaccessible at present by anything except native canoes.¹⁰⁶ The distance from deep water in the Indian Ocean to deep water off the Siamese coast is sixty-five miles. This distance is measured as follows: Forty-six miles up the Pak-chan River from Victoria Point to Kra; nineteen miles by direct line from Kra to the closest point on the Thailand coast. However, between Kra and the Gulf of Siam no practicable route shorter than twenty-four miles has been discovered. Two routes have been proposed; one directly to the bay of Sawee and an alternate route north to the lowlands of the Tayoung River. The Thai have established navigation lights at the mouth of the Tayoung opposite the station of Jumbhorn on the Bangkok-Singapore railway. The British explorer Dr. D. Richardson, in company with the engineer Captain G. B. Tremenheer, walked across the peninsula and published a report of their trip in 1843.¹⁰⁷ Captain Tremenheer estimated that the highest point of land was 450 feet above sea level and that 1,200,000,000 cubic yards of excavation would leave a canal one hundred feet wide from Kra to deep water on the Siamese coast; these figures are in addition to the very considerable task of dredging and rectifying the upper reaches of the Pak-chan.

Prompted by their desire to provide a by-pass around Singapore and obtain commanding influence in Siam, French engineers began, late in 1882, a survey which revealed a lower pass between the two coasts at an elevation of only 250 feet.¹⁰⁸ A

¹⁰⁵ *British Burma Gazetteer*, II, 470.

¹⁰⁶ Leopold Ainsworth, *A Merchant Venturer Among the Sea Gypsies* (London 1930), 98, 268.

¹⁰⁷ For sources see Clifford, *op. cit.*, 275.

¹⁰⁸ Commander A. J. Loftus, *Notes of Journey across the Isthmus of Kra, Made with the French Government Survey Expedition, January-April, 1883, with Preliminary Map and Sections, and Appendix Containing Report to the Indian Government*

contour map of the Kra region published by the Calcutta office of the Survey of India in 1918 shows that this elevation exists for some eighteen miles of the proposed route. Numerous other surveys have been made, including Furlong and Fraser's proposals for a railway across the peninsula, and a concession for construction of the canal actually was awarded to a London promoter, but no soil has been moved. Tremenheer's yardage figures are much too low for a canal suited to modern traffic. In short, the Kra canal, including the dredged section of the Pak-chan and the Tayoung, would be longer than the big ditch at Panama.¹⁰⁹

What would be the utility of a canal at Kra? It is true that the airline distance from Kra to Singapore is about 750 miles; but it must not be supposed that all this would be a net gain to shipping in the Europe-China run. Once a ship in this service has rounded Point de Galle at the southern tip of Ceylon it would have to go north more than 300 miles to pass through Kra. It would then have to steam south 200 miles to avoid the shoal waters and islands off Cambodia Point. Nor would shipping to the Far East wish to avoid Singapore even at a saving of 500 sea miles. Singapore is a great objective in itself and will continue to be regardless of what is done at Kra. The city is really a gigantic economic funnel from which the tin, oil, rubber, spices, coffee, and a host of tropical products of Malaysia reach the markets of the world. Let no one suppose the steamship companies operating to the Far East in times of peace would pass up the great cargo and passenger profits that collect in Singapore. The trade of that port exceeds £100,000,000 annually, and only a negligible amount of this would find its way north to Kra. Ninety per cent of this trade originates south of Penang.

Nor would the trade of Thailand justify the canal. In the first place, ninety per cent of Thailand's exports is rice, nearly all of which is marketed in Singapore and Hongkong, and thus would not pass near Kra. Further, the Royal Siamese State Railway, which runs only two trains each week on the Bangkok-Singapore line, has not troubled to put out a branch to either coast at

by Captains Fraser and Furlong in 1863 (Singapore, 1883), reviewed in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society*, n.s. V (1883), 564-66. French interest in the canal during the past century is summarized in de la Bourdonnais, *Un Français en Birmanie* (Paris, 1891), 232-41. *Ibid.*, 265-84 summarizes de Lessep's investigation of the Kra project.

¹⁰⁹ For engineering aspects of a Kra canal see the anonymous article "Is Japan Constructing the Kra Canal?" *Far Eastern Review*, XXXIV (May 1938), 185-8.

Kra although it reaches the Gulf of Siam with two branches farther south and runs one spur to the unimportant Thailand port of Kan Tang on the western coast not far from the Malay States frontier. In point of fact, the most valuable part of southern Thailand is that nearest to Singapore; here is produced most of the tin which makes up Thailand's nine per cent of the world supply. Nor can any stretch of the imagination make a Kra canal of more than passing interest, economic or strategic, to the Dutch possessions in the East Indies.

Neither does the Burma-Thailand trade justify expensive canal construction. Rice and teak are leading exports of both countries; they are competitors. Only a small trade is carried by the caravan routes which lead off from Moulmein and the Shan States. The Burma Railways have been extended to Ye, 120 miles south of Moulmein, as a projected link with the railways of Thailand. But this line has consistently shown a deficit, and prospects of profits should the line be completed are so illusory that it has been proposed more than once in the Burma Legislature that the line be abandoned. Although the Burmese and Thai are coreligionists and have a common land frontier for eight hundred miles, there is little traffic between the two countries and only slight interest in a Kra canal.

Let something be said for the other side. The one trade which would find a Kra canal of real value is that between the Far East and India and Burma. Burma's average exports of rice exceed 3,000,000 tons in normal years. Of this nearly twenty per cent moves to the Far East and thus would find a canal at Kra useful. There is also the cotton trade between India and Japan; but here, again, most of this cotton is shipped from western India and goes around Ceylon and Singapore. Under the Indian-Japanese Trade Agreement of April 1937, Japan agreed to buy not less than 1,000,000 bales of Indian cotton each year in exchange for which she may export 358,000,000 yards of cloth to India. Both figures represent reductions under former sales and purchases. Japan-Thailand trade, which normally employs seven Japanese ships, can be ignored since these vessels would have no interest in Kra.

There are, moreover, lions in the way of all Japanese trade with India and Burma. In June 1937 the Government of India reserved the Indian coastal trade and the Burma-India trade to ships of British or Indian registry. These agreements reducing

Japan-Burma trade, together with the growth of industrialism in an India that has embarked upon a policy of tariff protection, conspire to make any canal at Kra of diminishing importance to the one trade where it would now be most useful.

Mention of Japan brings up the alleged strategic dangers of the proposed canal. Japan's interest in the Kra area is not entirely a thing of the present century. Japanese rivals destroyed a Dutch "factory" at the Siamese port of Patani, not far from Kra, in 1605 during their conflict with British and Dutch traders in Siam. Today Japan is pointed out as the power that desires to make a flank attack upon Singapore in order to break Great Britain's power at that point. It is assumed that this object will be achieved best by the construction of an alternate route into the Indian Ocean at Kra. However, the last forty miles of the northern bank of the proposed canal would lie in British territory. Directly across the mouth of the Pak-chan estuary, two and one-half miles wide, lies a British island. Victoria Point, easily fortified and already possessing an airdrome and landing field of the Imperial Airways, juts out into the Pak-chan as a threat to any hostile power contemplating the construction of a canal at that point. St. Matthew's Island, eighteen miles long and dominated by heights visible thirty-five miles out to sea, is a British outpost at a short distance from the Pak-chan. Thus potential defense points are occupied, ready for fortification by the Empire. Numerous other islands guard the approaches to Kra. Consequently it is quite evident that the mere construction of a Kra canal through Burma-Thailand territory would not give any third power uncontested access to the Indian Ocean.

Great Britain's danger from the proposed canal lies not only in its threat to the security of Singapore but also in its challenge to British supremacy in the Indian Ocean. The great cities of Penang, Rangoon, Calcutta, Madras, and to a lesser degree Colombo and Bombay, are not well provided with harbor defense works. Hitherto these have been unnecessary since Great Britain controls the approaches to the vast Indian Ocean. The Bay of Bengal has been for generations a quiet backwater in which Great Britain's power is supreme;¹¹⁰ the Emden, caught east of Suez in 1914, demonstrated the vulnerability of Madras

¹¹⁰ "At no point in the long stretches of British territory washed by its [Indian Ocean] surf has the flag of any European rival ever been hoisted since the French colours were struck over Cuddalore in 1783." Admiral G. A. Ballard, *Rulers of the Indian Ocean* (London, 1927), 287.

and Penang. The continuation of British pre-eminence from Aden to Bangkok would require the building of defense works in Burma on the northern bank of the Kra canal, should one be built.¹¹¹ Since Great Britain has no interest in constructing a canal north of Singapore, and since Japan cannot legally do so under existing treaties (not always a deterrent), there remains but one other possibility. The Thailand Government could construct a canal with or without aid from another power. Thailand's treasury position is essentially sound; the country has had a favorable balance of trade for decades, and the whole of her small external debt is held by London bankers. Although Thailand could finance this canal, she doubts that its construction would advance her interests. Siam for years refused to dredge the bar at the mouth of the Menam. Not until 1940 did Thailand grant facilities for the extension of Japanese air service to Bangkok.¹¹² Moreover, the Thai are not a maritime people, and the entire peninsula below Bang Tapan is really outside the sphere of Thai national planning. The Thai astutely distinguish between friendship for Japan and a determination to remain masters of their own house, and little real comity can be found between them. Until recently there was more anti-Chinese than pro-Japanese sentiment in Bangkok.

In conclusion, Thailand desires no canal at present because her interests are on land; sees no advantage in another entrance to her Indian Ocean; and Japan knows that the strategic value of a canal would be limited by British control of its western portal in Burma. Furthermore, although the technical difficulties of canal construction at Kra are not insurmountable, it is doubtful if construction could be justified on grounds of utility alone. Both the Japanese and Thai Governments have denied repeatedly any plans for constructing a waterway at Kra. Recent statements in the Japanese press indicated that reports of Japanese construction of a Kra canal were "absolutely without foundation."¹¹³ James Mills, an Associated Press correspondent, crossed the isthmus of Kra in March 1938, and reported that rumors of canal construction were a "complete fabrication." Mills added that the Kra district was not a Thai military zone

¹¹¹ This view is supported by Indian opinion which regards Japan in South Asia with growing disfavor. See *The Indian Annual Register* (Calcutta, 1936), 22, 54.

¹¹² Part of the Japan-Thailand agreement of June 1940 as reported in the press.

¹¹³ See "Little Brother of the East," *Japan Times Weekly*, V, No. 10 (Oct. 1940), 354-8.

and that he did not see "a single Japanese officer in the whole of Siam."¹¹⁴ The *Bangkok Times* of April 4, 1936, after citing the official *démenti* in regard to the cutting of the canal, printed a letter from a correspondent who repeated a sensational report taken from a British paper: "The canal will cost £1,500,000. Eighty thousand Siamese laborers are now at work on the canal. Bangkok and Petchaburi boast busy factories feverishly making the necessary equipment and tools. Rocks at Kra are daily being blown into the air by high explosives." The correspondent concluded, somewhat impatiently perhaps, "One is inclined to think the writer of this should share the alleged fate of the rocks of Kra." Questions in Parliament brought assurances from British colonial officials that no canal construction was contemplated within the predictable future.¹¹⁵

During November 1941 there was renewed evidence of rising Thai irredentism directed against Indo-China, but also including in its scope Burma and the northern Malay States. The Japan "Chronical", within the same month, indicated fresh Japanese interest in the Kra canal area. According to Section IX of the report of the committee appointed to fix responsibility for Japanese success in the surprise attack on Hawaii which met under the chairmanship of Associate Justice Owen J. Roberts of the United States Supreme Court, the American Chief of Naval Operations on November 27 and again on November 30, communicated to the commanders of the Pacific and Asiatic fleets a warning that "indications were that Japan was about to launch an attack on the Kra Isthmus" and suggested that the drive would be amphibious. Significantly, the Kra Isthmus actually was the first point of Japanese attack that directly affected Burma, and this included seizure of Victoria Point, southernmost tip of Burma and valuable as a subsidiary airport of the Imperial Airways. This attack of December 12, 1941, which caused seven deaths in Tenasserim, was followed almost immediately by seizure of Tavoy, on the Tenasserim Coast from which road and rail transportation leads to Moulmein, the third city of Burma and port at the mouth of the Salween.

Reports of the use of Thai planes and ground forces in the Japanese drive against Moulmein galvanized anti-Thai sentiment in Burma. In retaliation for Thailand's collaboration with Japa-

¹¹⁴ *Bangkok Times*, March 26, 1938. The rumour was denied also by Yasukichi Yatabe, "Our Place in Siam's Progress," *Contemporary Japan*, V (1937), 558-65.

¹¹⁵ H. C. Debates, 5th ser. 287, 1616, and *London Times*, March 27, 1934.

nese forces, British and American airmen based on Rangoon executed two punishing raids on Bangkok on January 24 and 25, which were followed by a Thai declaration of war on Britain and the United States and the employment of some Thai troops in the invasion of Burma.

BURMA AND JAPAN

Although Japanese adventurers reached Siam, Java, and Sumatra during the era of Iyeyasu, there is no record of their reaching Burma in great numbers before the restriction of Japan's foreign trade in 1641. The Friar Manrique reported that in 1630 he travelled from Bengal to Arakan in a ship having a Japanese captain. Constantine Phaulkon, the Levantine adventurer in Siam during the same period, married a half-Japanese woman in Ayuthia, and their son was carried a prisoner to Burma during one of the Burmese raids on Siam. The number of Japanese in Burma has never been large. The census of 1911 reports 442 Japanese subjects in the entire colony; in 1931 the number had risen to only 570. Of these the larger number are dentists, photographers, veterinarians, merchants, or employees of Japanese banking and shipping interests which maintain branches in Rangoon. There is no Japanese school in the entire Province. Japanese, unlike Chinese, are in competition with Europeans in Burma rather than with Burmese. No Japanese in Burma operate rice or timber mills, although two small cotton gins are Japanese owned. There are no Japanese rural settlements, and no considerable concentration of Japanese nationals in any one town, but rather a sprinkling engaged in the professions mentioned above. They are seldom found in cities having a population under 5,000. In short, the Japanese in Burma, before the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese incident, were no more a problem and caused little more comment than did the presence of similar numbers of nationals from the trading nations of Europe. The Government has on several occasions refused permission for the Suzuki firm to engage in mining in the Shan States.

Commercial relations between Burma and Japan during the present century have centered about Japanese exports of cotton, silk, and rayon textiles to Burma, and Burma's efforts to increase Japan's imports of Burma cotton and rice. The trade balance has been consistently in favor of Japan; in 1936 for example,

Burma's imports from Japan reached a value of Rs. 235.96 lakhs, while her exports to Japan amounted to only Rs. 153.55 lakhs.¹¹⁶ Japan supplies cement, hardware, notions for the cheaper bazaar trade, some electrical goods, toys, ironware, crockery, drug sundries, and fish. Aside from her textiles none of Japan's exports to Burma amounted to five per cent of Burma's total imports.

Japan's exports of cotton manufactures to India including Burma amounted to Rs. 58,59 lakhs in 1929-30; by 1934-35 her cotton exports had declined to 21,76 lakhs.¹¹⁷ During the first six months of the Sino-Japanese conflict Burma's total taking of Japanese exports dropped forty per cent, due largely to a boycott of these goods by Chinese merchants in the colony. There has been no substantial boycott of Japanese goods by Burmese or Indian consumers in Burma. Two other factors account for the steady decline of Japanese exports to India and Burma during the present decade: growing industrialization in India and Burma, and various trade and preferential tariff agreements that operate against Japanese goods and shipping. Further minor factors during the period 1930-37 include the economic depression which resulted in a decline in all imports of textiles, both British and Japanese; Gandhi's campaign for *keddah* (handloom fabrics) was of relatively little importance among Indians in Burma. The Burmese, however, took no interest whatever in attempting to reduce imports of foreign cloth for reasons of nationalism and economic self-sufficiency. The Burmese agriculturalist or laborer habitually buys the cheapest product regardless of country of origin. Attempts to promote, for reasons of nationalism, the use of the native Burmese cotton cloth *pinni* have not been successful.

Japan's export trade to Burma received its first serious setback when the Government of India notified Japan of its intention to abrogate, on October 10, 1933, the Indo-Japanese trade convention of 1905.¹¹⁸ Pressure by Lancashire and Bombay millers was responsible for their Government taking this unilateral action. During the present decade the cotton bazaars of India and Burma have been an economic battlefield for the mills of Osaka, Bombay, and Lancashire, with the outcome still uncertain, but with Bombay a length ahead. The abrogation of the

¹¹⁶ Rangoon *Gazette*, June 28, 1937.

¹¹⁷ Francis Low, ed., *The Indian Year Book*, 1936-37 (Bombay, 1936).

¹¹⁸ See K. Inahara, ed., *Japan Year Book*, 1936 (Tokyo, 1936), 197.

nese forces, British and American airmen based on Rangoon executed two punishing raids on Bangkok on January 24 and 25, which were followed by a Thai declaration of war on Britain and the United States and the employment of some Thai troops in the invasion of Burma.

BURMA AND JAPAN

Although Japanese adventurers reached Siam, Java, and Sumatra during the era of Iyeyasu, there is no record of their reaching Burma in great numbers before the restriction of Japan's foreign trade in 1641. The Friar Manrique reported that in 1630 he travelled from Bengal to Arakan in a ship having a Japanese captain. Constantine Phaulkon, the Levantine adventurer in Siam during the same period, married a half-Japanese woman in Ayuthia, and their son was carried a prisoner to Burma during one of the Burmese raids on Siam. The number of Japanese in Burma has never been large. The census of 1911 reports 442 Japanese subjects in the entire colony; in 1931 the number had risen to only 570. Of these the larger number are dentists, photographers, veterinarians, merchants, or employees of Japanese banking and shipping interests which maintain branches in Rangoon. There is no Japanese school in the entire Province. Japanese, unlike Chinese, are in competition with Europeans in Burma rather than with Burmese. No Japanese in Burma operate rice or timber mills, although two small cotton gins are Japanese owned. There are no Japanese rural settlements, and no considerable concentration of Japanese nationals in any one town, but rather a sprinkling engaged in the professions mentioned above. They are seldom found in cities having a population under 5,000. In short, the Japanese in Burma, before the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese incident, were no more a problem and caused little more comment than did the presence of similar numbers of nationals from the trading nations of Europe. The Government has on several occasions refused permission for the Suzuki firm to engage in mining in the Shan States.

Commercial relations between Burma and Japan during the present century have centered about Japanese exports of cotton, silk, and rayon textiles to Burma, and Burma's efforts to increase Japan's imports of Burma cotton and rice. The trade balance has been consistently in favor of Japan; in 1936 for example,

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Indo-Japanese trade agreement was followed by raising the import duty on Japanese cottons to Burma and India from fifty to seventy per cent ad valorem. In reprisal, Japanese mills boycotted both Indian and Burmese short-staple raw-cotton which had been used widely for the production of cheaper Japanese fabrics. After an interim of unsatisfactory trading conditions, negotiations between Japanese, Indian, and British interests began in Simla on September 22, 1933. After discussions lasting more than three months, an agreement was reached in New Delhi on January 5, 1934, subject to confirmation in London.

The result was the signing of a convention in London on July 12, 1934, to remain in force until March 31, 1937.¹¹⁹ Japan scored a victory in the reduction of duty on her textiles from seventy to fifty per cent, whereas India, Burma and Lancashire were advantaged by limiting Japanese textile imports to 325,000,000 yards, a quota which was linked with a Japanese undertaking to buy 1,000,000 bales of cotton from India and Burma. Further restrictions were placed upon Japanese trade by a levy of specific duties on Japanese hosiery, crockery, iron-ware, and notions, intended to protect the growing industries of the Indian Empire. Despite these restrictions, India and Burma in 1935 took nearly twenty-five per cent of Japan's cotton textile exports, an amount since decreased in both value and percentage.

On April 12, 1937, an Indo-Japanese Trade Protocol, to replace the above agreement which expired on March 31, was initiated at New Delhi, subject to ratification of the Home Government. This agreement remained in force until March 31, 1940, but inasmuch as it took effect immediately after the separation of Burma from India, the protocol does not affect that colony directly, except for the provision that re-exports to Burma from India entitled Japan to an additional like amount added to its export quota to India.¹²⁰ Under Article XII of the *Trade and Immigration Relations Between India and Burma after the Separation of Burma*, Burma was bound to follow for at least three years the same policy as India with respect to tariffs and quotas in the textile trade with Japan.¹²¹ Japan took a reduction from 325,000,000 yards to 283,000,000 yards in the

¹¹⁹ See Cmd. 4735, *Treaty Series No. 31*, 1934.

¹²⁰ The negotiations and agreements were reported fully in the *North China Herald*, May 12, 1937.

¹²¹ Cmd. 4985/1934.

amounts which she is permitted to export to India, while agreeing to take the same amount of Indian cotton as before—1,000,000 bales. However, the reduction of 42,000,000 yards accepted by India was, under separate agreement, authorized for export to Burma. Under the agreement signed in London on June 7, 1937, Japan agreed to take 70,000 bales of Burmese cotton, in return for which she could sell not more than 42,000,000 yards of cotton cloth to Burma.¹²² This agreement likewise was in effect until March 31, 1940. It was unpopular in Great Britain where the Lancashire millers believed, mistakenly, that the Japanese had been able to negotiate directly with Burma whereas they were forced to deal through the Government of India.¹²³ During 1938-39 the position of the three principal suppliers of textiles to Burma was as follows:¹²⁴

PIECE GOODS IMPORTS

	Quantity		Value	
	Million Yds.	Per Cent	Rs. Lakhs	Per Cent
India	89	65	188	64.6
United Kingdom	15	10.9	52	17.9
Japan	32	23.4	48	16.5..
Others	1	.7	3	1.
Totals.....	137	100.0	291	100.0

Statistics on imports of cotton twist and yarn for three years further illustrate the decline in imports from Great Britain, increase from India, and wide fluctuation in imports from Japan, of this staple which forms the basis of Burma's textile manufacturing:

COTTON TWIST AND YARN IMPORTS

(In pounds)

	1935-36	1937-38	1938-39
India	9,315,422	10,481,000	13,586,000
United Kingdom	387,825	365,000	163,000
Japan	1,309,255	590,000	2,565,000
China*	—	92,000	250,000
Totals	11,012,502	11,529,000	16,564,000

* Japanese-occupied China, including Shanghai.

¹²² The amount exportable to Burma was subject to a reduction of 300,000 yards of cloth for each 1,000 bales less than 70,000 purchased by Japan in Burma. For the agreement see *Convention Regarding Trade and Commerce Between Burma and Japan*, London, June 7, 1937, in *Parliamentary Papers 1936-37*, XXIX, 517. Cmd. 5504/1937.

¹²³ *Rangoon Gazette*, February 22, 1937. The millers had reason to be alarmed over their loss of exports of cotton goods to Burma.

¹²⁴ *Survey of the Import Trade of India*, *op. cit.*, 31.

Japanese shipping to Burma is conducted by the Japan-India Services of the N.Y.K. and O.S.K. lines which transport most of the Japanese imports under direction of the Mitsui and Mitsubishi interests. On their way to Calcutta and other Indian ports, 61 Japanese ships visited Rangoon in 1936 as opposed to 64 ships in 1935.¹²⁵ Since 1936, the number has declined but no statistics are available since 1938. Largely in response to pressure from Indian and British shipowners engaged in the intercoastal services, legislation was enacted in 1937 to prohibit Japanese ships engaging in the intercoastal business or in the Burma-India trade.¹²⁶ This was a severe handicap to the Japanese lines in the India-Burma run, some of which had been engaged in the service for forty years.

Aside from her trade with Burma, Japan's interest in that country was slight before the opening of the Burma Road to China. Japanese fishing boats have been sighted in the Bay of Bengal. One put into Rangoon with a cargo of refrigerated fish that found a ready market; the ship and its facilities attracted considerable interest among Indians and Burmese.¹²⁷ On another occasion Japanese fishing and pearling boats were taken into custody in Mergui on a charge of poaching in Burmese waters without proper license.¹²⁸ Current reports at the time commented significantly upon the type of scientific equipment which the ships carried.

Culturally, Japan's influence in Burma was not important before 1930. Burmans shared the usual Oriental admiration for Japanese accomplishments in science and industry. The Japanese victory over Russia did not pass unobserved in Rangoon and Mandalay. Several Japanese films have attracted considerable attention in Burma, and two or three of the leading Burmese nationalists and journalists have visited Tokyo and Osaka. While intermarriage between Burmese women and Chinese men is common, racial unions between Japanese and Burmese are almost unknown. Personally, the Japanese are not liked by the Burmese.

Politically, the first evidence of Japanese interest in Burma was in connection with the revision in August 1905 of the

¹²⁵ *Report on Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 64.

¹²⁶ Supplemented by Cmd. 5636/1937, a Convention regarding commerce between Burma and Japan.

¹²⁷ *Rangoon Gazette*, May 10, 1937.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1936.



Falls of the Namti, Monnai State Southern Shan State

Anglo-Japanese Alliance of January, 1902. The preamble of the Alliance was widened to include maintenance of the general peace and the respective territorial rights of the contracting parties in East Asia and in India, of which Burma was then a part.¹²⁹ In the 1911 revision and renewal of the Alliance, Article IV, of 1905, bearing reference to defense of British interests in India (including Burma) was deleted, but the reference to India in the preamble was retained.¹³⁰ Upon the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, as provided for in the final article of the Four-Power Treaty of the Washington Conference in 1922, Britain's position in India and Burma became less secure, and this fact did not escape notice in Burma.

As Japan's position as a world power became established her statesmen, looking afield for likely places for expansion, directed their attention, at least academically, to South Asia and the South Pacific. Shortly thereafter appeared the Tanaka Memorial whose origin and authenticity has given rise to much discussion. In this Memorial, whatever its origin, the direction of the ultimate goal of expansion into South Asia, including Burma, is outlined.¹³¹ Although this document was generally regarded as a forgery, its existence and its program became known in India and Burma, to the detriment of Burmese opinion of Japan. Burma has had on several occasions her share of Japanese spy scares, but not until August 1940, when two Japanese journalists and a Chinese doctor of Japanese nationality were arrested in Rangoon, were these alarms taken seriously by the Government of Burma.

JAPAN AND THE BURMA ROAD

After a period of generally satisfactory trade as discussed above, Japan's interest in Burma became acute when the possibility of its being used as a backdoor to China became realized in Tokyo.¹³² The shipment of munitions to Chungking via Hongkong ceased in January 1939. By late spring of 1940 Japan presented her successful demand that French Indo-China close its railway and frontier to the transit of war materials to the

¹²⁹ Cmd. 2735/1905, Treaty No. 25 1905. Also in *British and Foreign State Papers*, 98 (1904-05), 136-8.

¹³⁰ Cmd. 5737, Treaty No. 18, 1911.

¹³¹ An English version of the Tanaka Memorial was published by a Chinese patriotic society in San Francisco, 1931.

¹³² See the chapter on the Burma Road, known in Burma as the China Road,

forces of Chiang Kai-shek and, in addition, secured the very unusual power of stationing inspectors in Haiphong to oversee the enforcement of the agreement. These steps were followed in September by actual occupation of parts of the French possessions, and left the Burma Road as the only artery for China's war supplies, aside from the route westward from Lanchow to Soviet territory.

During the midsummer of 1940, to the embarrassment of its opponents of appeasement, the Churchill Government entered into a temporary agreement with Japan to close the Burma Road to the transit of war materials from July 18 to October 18, 1940.¹³³ The subject had been under negotiation for several weeks prior to July 18, and Britain was fully aware that her course of action would arouse protests. British journalists pointed out the impropriety of American objections while this country continued to supply Japan with oil and scrap iron.¹³⁴

The first semi-official announcement of Britain's intention of yielding to Japanese pressure came through a radio address by the acting Governor of the Straits Settlements. The Governor was reminded that the Empire was "governed from London, not Singapore,"¹³⁵ but on the following day Prime Minister Churchill announced in the House of Commons the decision to close the road during three months of the rainy season. An extraordinary issue of the official *Burma Gazette* of July 20, 1940 contained the terms of Sir Robert Craigie's agreement. The communique revealed that Japan since June 24, 1940, had pressed for suspension of traffic on the Burma Road. Two reasons were given in justification of the agreement to limit traffic on the road: First, the relieving of Anglo-Japanese tension; second, the provision of an interval for the negotiation of a Sino-Japanese peace. It was stated simply that "the Government of Burma has agreed to suspend traffic in petrol, motor lorries, and railway materials in addition to other war materials to which the Japanese government attaches importance." The above items were mentioned specifically in addition to actual munitions of war. It was noted that the suspension was merely temporary. Non-military stores continued to move over the road and lorries were permitted to take enough petrol to complete the round trip.

¹³³ The *Rangoon Gazette*, June 24, 1940, contained a notice of Japan's request for closure of the road.

¹³⁴ *Great Britain and the East*, LV (June 25, 1940), 63.

¹³⁵ *New York Times*, July 15, 1940.

Mr. Richard Austin Butler, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, elaborated on the details of the agreement by explaining that whereas Japan had been denied the right to station officials in Burma for the purpose of inspecting traffic over the road, the Government of Burma had agreed to give Japanese consular officials access to the customs statistics before they were published.¹³⁶ It was further agreed to maintain close contact with Japanese officials in controlling the overland trade. In good faith Burma prohibited all traffic over the road while arrangements were being made for restricting transport of the forbidden articles. It was pointed out, however, that there was no objection to the transport of non-prohibited materials up to the China frontier. Domei announced, on August 1, that Mr. Katsuzo Okumura of the South Asia section of the Japanese Foreign Office had left Tokyo that morning by plane for Rangoon to advise the Japanese consular staff in Burma on the operation of the agreement. Japan had hitherto been represented by a consular official only; no Japanese diplomatic representatives were posted in Burma prior to 1940.

News of the impending closure of the road created a sensation that was world-wide. H. G. W. Woodhead, who has been described as "an attorney for British policy in the Far East," declared that "no self-respecting Briton can regard such a concession to Japan with pride or satisfaction."¹³⁷ Chinese opinion was divided: Dr. Quo Tai-chi, Chinese Ambassador in London, on orders of his Government protested the stoppage of the Burma Road and informally supported the opinion that it was an unfriendly act and one certain to have a damaging effect upon Chinese morale.¹³⁸ Unofficial Chinese opinion was more moderate. A leading journal concluded its long discussion of Britain's action with the statement: "So, China should continue to have abiding faith in Great Britain, for the British Government has never meant to sell China to Japan despite . . . the Burma Road."¹³⁹ The general Chinese attitude was one of disappointment not lessened by the fact that August, September and October are rainy months during which motor traffic is uncertain and difficult. The Chinese Ambassador in London pointed out that transport had continued during the previous

¹³⁶ London *Times* and New York *Times*, July 18, 1940.

¹³⁷ *China Weekly Review*, 93, No. 9 (July 27, 1940).

¹³⁸ New York *Times*, July 16, 1940.

¹³⁹ *China Critic*, XXX, Nos. 2, 4 (July 11, 25, 1940).

rainy season. Spokesmen for the Chinese Nationalist Government declared China ready to invade both Burma and French Indo-China if necessary to keep its supply lines open.

In Washington, officials of the State Department "after talking to Stimson" asserted America's interest in the road and protested its closing as an interference with legitimate Sino-American trade.¹⁴⁰ Although the official papers are not yet available, it seems likely from comments in the British press that Churchill's Government, before announcing its closing of the road, had proposed the "parallel action" formula to the American State Department, probably including the abandonment by both countries of extraterritoriality in China. Curiously enough, the Soviet Union was the first country to lodge a formal protest against the British action. On July 13 the Russians indicated their objection on the grounds that much Russian goods continued to use the Burma route in preference to the long overland route through Turkestan.¹⁴¹

Repercussions of the British action were immediate in both Burma and India. Burma nationalists, who two years before had objected to the opening of the road, now protested its closing on the grounds of the danger to Burma of the involvement with Japan, in case that country should make demands for further concessions such as she received in French Indo-China. There were insistent demands that the defenses of Burma be put in order. Likewise, Indian nationalist organizations in India and in London criticized Britain's yielding, and even Mahatma Gandhi announced his intention to support the Government and refrain from disturbing activities behind the lines. The Shan chiefs objected as the Lashio-Kunming traffic had brought unprecedented wartime profits to their states.

It will be remembered that one purpose in closing the road was to provide an opportunity for Sino-Japanese peace overtures. Under a Hongkong date line of July 30, 1940, the world press carried an outline of tentative terms offered by Japan.¹⁴² The second provision of this purported offer was (after outright cession of Hopei, Chahar, Shantung, Shansi, and Suiyan to Japan) the "recognition of Wang Ching-wei as President of a Chinese Republic made up of the remaining provinces and also British

¹⁴⁰ *New York Times*, July 16, 20, 1940.

¹⁴¹ *Japan Chronicle*, July 18, 25, 1940.

¹⁴² *New York Times*, July 30, 1940.

Burma, French Indo-China, and Thailand in which China and Japan would share economic opportunities." Following the publication of these proposals there was evidence of genuine loyalty to Great Britain; Burmese contributions to the British war chest took a sudden spurt and reached a total of £100,000 in voluntary gifts. There was a growing realization that the interests of Burma demanded a British victory.

Meantime, military stores for China accumulated in Rangoon, Hongkong, Calcutta, Singapore, and elsewhere awaiting the reopening of the road. It was reported that a cargo of sixty-four American military planes and 1,000 tons of ammunition was stored in Manila pending arrangements for trans-shipment to central China, and it was expected that Manila would replace Rangoon and Hongkong as a storage depot for supplies for China. Chinese authorities indicated that during the interim they had made extensive improvements to the Burma road on their side of the frontier and expected to transport 40,000 tons of munitions per month when the road should be reopened.

During the first week of October 1940, Sir Robert Craigie informed Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita of Britain's intention to reopen the Burma Road at the end of the agreed period, i.e., October 18, and that decision was put into effect. Thus ended an unprecedented British concession to Japan, a concession that is understood only in the light of Great Britain's dire straits during the time it was negotiated. Japan made the demand on June 24, 1940, two days after French delegates had signed a separate peace in the famed armistice car in the Compiègne forest, while Britons daily expected invasion from across the channel.

In its larger aspects, the entire problem of closing and reopening the Burma Road is vitally related to the current (1940-41) Japanese expansion southward. Should her control of French Indo-China extend to the 200 miles where the upper Mekong divides Burma from the French possession, she would then be within 250 miles, in direct line, of the Burma Road. During the first two weeks of October 1940 the American press carried alarmist reports of the danger to American-Japanese relations that would result from the resumption of traffic over the road, particularly in view of America's grant to China of another loan of \$25,000,000 on the day the road reopened, and further credits to a total of \$186,000,000 in two years. Likewise,

rainy season. Spokesmen for the Chinese Nationalist Government declared China ready to invade both Burma and French Indo-China if necessary to keep its supply lines open.

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¹⁴⁰ *New York Times*, July 16, 20, 1940.

¹⁴¹ *Japan Chronicle*, July 18, 25, 1940.

¹⁴² *New York Times*, July 30, 1940.

Japanese strategists allegedly had planned to take advantage of British and Dutch preoccupation elsewhere by moving against the Netherlands East Indies. It was reported that, because of American opposition to such a move, Japan then contemplated an attack upon Burma.¹⁴⁷ The same dispatches indicated possible consolidation of Anglo-Chinese forces under Sir Robert Brooke-Popham (Commander-in-Chief of the British Far Eastern forces at Singapore) in the event of a further Japanese advance in Southeast Asia. Opinion in Burma remained confident that British forces were quite adequate for protection of the country, particularly in view of Great Britain's vastly improved position in the Middle East during December 1940, consequent upon the expulsion of Italian units which had threatened the Suez route to the Far East.

Meantime, Burma appeared to be singularly calm over the alleged danger of Japanese aggression. In an editorial the *Rangoon Gazette* asserted: "The little hitch about the Yunnan-Burma Road which has not unduly perturbed anyone here, was reported elsewhere as being a very awkward situation."¹⁴⁸ The Rangoon newspapers reported that trucks loaded with petrol and parts for airplanes and trucks were parked over an area of ten acres in Lashio, ready to take the road to the Chinese frontier at midnight of October 17. And U Ba Lwin, leader of an unofficial Burma goodwill party to Thailand and the Straits, assured a Singapore audience that the "Burmese people hope the British Government will reopen the road."¹⁴⁹

On December 7, 1941, the Burma Road became also the Road of the United Nations. In the inevitable struggle for the reduction Japan's land forces China has become a valuable ally of world democracy, and this highway is certain to see the passage of huge quantities of supplies and considerable air and mechanized forces. The Burma Road reopened will provide the only highway to air bases far in the interior of China, north of the Yangtse, from which Japan's armament production and naval bases can best be attacked. The Burma Road, once famed as the back door to China, will become the front door to China from

¹⁴⁷ New York *Times*, December 8, 1940. See also Edgar Snow, "Things That Could Happen," *Asia*, XLI (January 1941), 7-16, for a discussion of possible American interest in Southeast Asia.

¹⁴⁸ September 4, 1940. On November 30, 1940, the Japanese consulate in Rangoon was made a Consulate-General.

¹⁴⁹ *Singapore Straits Budget*, October 10, 1940.

the Indian Ocean. It is of the utmost importance that this sea be kept open, thus providing Axis-free channels to both India and Burma. Wise utilization of this area may be in large measure the key to the defeat of Japan.

CHAPTER XV

BURMA AND THE EMPIRE

For many years after its absorption into the Indian Empire Burma was regarded as an imperial liability. Difficult to defend, Burma was described by Sir George White as "one vast military obstacle."¹ Rangoon harbor was unsuitable for the anchorage of any considerable units of the British fleet, and naval vessels visited Burma only rarely. The strategic advantages of Singapore, Penang, and Colombo as compared with Rangoon were obvious. According to Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India and Burma in the Churchill Government, Burma's great value to the Empire resulted from its productive capacity in rice, oil, metals, and timber.² As a defense adjunct the country's possibilities were not realized until the present century; during the past two decades Rangoon has become a center for air traffic; all lines in the Europe-Orient service stop there, and the same is true of the planes in the Chungking-Kunming-Rangoon flight.

Few evidences of military or naval preparedness were seen anywhere in Burma prior to 1939. The country had no naval base and no land fortifications of any consequence aside from a few defense works along her land frontiers. As the country became settled and pacified after the third Anglo-Burmese war of 1885, successive reductions were made in the armed forces stationed in Burma. By 1935 there were only 5,374 troops in the entire Province; of these, 1,807 were Europeans and 3,517 were Asiatics of the Indian Army.³ Two infantry battalions of the British Army normally perform in Burma a portion of their overseas service. These troops are in addition to the 12,000 officers and men of the Military Police and the Burma Frontier Service.⁴ The only regular army unit raised in Burma was the

¹ Quoted in Cmd. 3900/1931.

² See the excellent account, with tables, by Sir Lewis Leigh Femor, "Burma's Mineral Resources and the War," *Asiatic Review*, XXXVII (January 1941), 154-66. The Syrian refinery is the principal source of aviation gasoline for the Royal Air Force east of Suez.

³ *Report on the Administration of Burma, 1935-36*, 28.

⁴ See Chapter VI.

Burma Rifles, a force recruited from the delta Karens or the hill tribes. For several years following the World War, one battalion of the Burma Rifles were stationed at Taiping, the capital of Perak in the Federated Malay States. The Burma Sappers and Miners, a purely Burmese unit, was disbanded after the World War. Burmese and Anglo-Burmese forces saw service in the Mesopotamia campaign; only a few Burmese mechanics, drivers and laborers reached France. Industry in Burma supplied parts for gun carriages, and one plant produced some 50,000 large-caliber shells.

Most of the 5,000 troops in the country are quartered in comfortable new barracks at Mingaladon, or at Maymyo, the Government hill station. Aside from limited service in the Burma Rebellion of 1931 and minor actions during the subsequent racial disturbances, European troops have not taken the field in Burma during the present century. The Burma Auxiliary Force, roughly comparable to the National Guard in the United States, is composed principally of Anglo-Burmans. Burmese politicians have objected to the preponderance of non-Burmans in the defense forces, but until the outbreak of the present war they have been unable to induce their countrymen to volunteer for military service.⁵ At the time of separation, U Aye, the first Burman elected president of the old Legislative Council, was one of the two Burmans who held commissions as Reserve Officers in the Indian Army. Some of the 2,000 men of the Auxiliary Force are in artillery units and the Railway Battalion, but most of them are assigned to the infantry battalions in Rangoon, Upper Burma, and Tenasserim. In addition, the University Training Corps, open to students of all races, provides a reserve of officers for the Territorial Force.

Once the separation of Burma from India was decided upon, the question of defense arose immediately. Formerly Burma had been under the protection of the Indian Army and both countries had depended upon the Royal Navy and the Indian Marine for their coastal defense. Actually there had been no naval action of consequence in the Indian Ocean for more than a century other than encounters with German raiders during the World War. Within two weeks after separation the Governor authorized the raising in Burma of military forces including one company of sappers and miners, four battalions of

⁵ See U Ni's statement at the Burma Round Table Conference in *Cong. Rec.*, 1947, 74.

Burma Rifles and such service companies as ordnance, military engineers, animal transport, a veterinary unit, medical officers and a hospital company, and a record, reservist, and recruiting center.⁶ The Burma Auxiliary Force remains virtually unchanged, except for progressive Burmanization, with a field battery, wireless section, a railway battalion, and battalions in Tenasserim, Rangoon, and Upper Burma. These units, some of which were yet in the formative stage, remained Burma's land defense force until the outbreak of the European war on September 3, 1939. The auxiliary and territorial elements were only partly trained and equipped for active duty, and no mechanized equipment was available in sufficient quantity.

In the first budget session of the Burma Legislature after the declaration of war on Germany, a sum of Rs. 428 lakhs was sanctioned for enlargement of the defense establishments, an increase from Rs. 204 lakhs in 1939. In Rangoon dockyards work was begun on five fast naval patrol vessels for coastal defense and mine sweeping. The vessels were constructed according to Thornycroft designs and powered with engines from that British armament firm. The boats are 77 feet long with a beam of 13 feet, armed with a naval rifle and depth charges. The triple-screw vessels powered with Diesel or gasoline motors are being completed at a cost of Rs. 9,13,320.⁷

After some delay a Burma volunteer air unit and a naval volunteer Reserve Force were organized in midsummer of 1940. The latter was popular with all communities in Burma and seven of its twenty-nine officers were Burmese sub-lieutenants; the number of Burmese officers since has been increased. In June 1940 the Governor of Burma was given authority to conscript all European male British subjects between the ages of eighteen and fifty-five for defense. All European British subjects were required to register and none was permitted to leave the country without prior authority. On June 25, 1940, the Viceroy of India and the Governor of Burma were given plenary authority to act in their respective countries without reference to London in the event of the disruption of Empire communications.⁸

Early in June, Rangoon harbor was declared a protected area and measures were taken for its defense from attack by sea.

⁶ *Rangoon Gazette*, April 12, 1937.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 8, 1940.

⁸ *Rangoon Gazette*, June 25, 1940. Reported also in *New York Times*, June 26, 1940.

Meanwhile, air raid precautions were extended to Rangoon town. Air raid wardens were appointed and given stringent powers to enforce blackouts. The first blackout was held on June 17, 1940, under the direction of the Commissioner of the Pegu Division, with a Burmese official as his executive assistant. The blackouts and A.R.P. were tried out repeatedly and extended to the districts. Defense preparations were not restricted to the Rangoon area; immediately after the Burma road was closed to war supplies, the British began frontier fortifications along their section of the highway, and defenses were put in order at Myitkyina, Lashio, Bhamo, and in the Mekong sector. The road to Loimwe, a military outpost within fifty miles of French Indo-China, was put in condition for motor transport during the rainy season.

In October 1940 an Empire resources conference met at Simla with representatives from India, Burma, Malaysia, Hong-kong, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere in the British East. Although this was primarily a conference on raw materials and civilian resources in the war, it was announced on November 17 that Burma, whose military forces had been for a century under direction of the Commander-in-Chief in India, would thereafter be a part of the command of Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham as Commander-in-Chief in the Far East with headquarters in Singapore.⁹ Whereas this change may be limited to Empire forces during the present emergency, it indicates the cutting of another link with India and the closer association of Burma with the Far East. Late in 1940, efforts were made to increase the percentage of Burmans in the armed forces. The numbers of Burmans tentatively accepted for training for commissions increased, and it was announced in October that thereafter recruitment to commissioned ranks would cease and all future commissions in the Burma forces would be awarded to men who had risen from the ranks. This action was popular among Burmese. In January 1941 the Governor of Burma authorized the raising of two additional battalions of infantry, and it was assumed that these would be composed largely of Burmans in rank and officer cadres.

Burmese opinion of the European war varied from complete

⁹ *New York Times*, October 7, 1940. The report that the Chinese Nationalist Government had sent some 50,000 troops to aid in the defense of the Burma-Siam border line was declared by British sources a fabrication from "white dirt." British troops were dispatched to bolster Burma's defense. *New York Times*, March 2, 1941.

hostility to Great Britain to entire loyalty and support of the British cause. In editorializing upon Burma's defense appropriation of Rs. 428 lakhs, a leading Burmese journal said the funds were "... not meant merely for white-faced army officers and soldiers. . . . It should be arranged to bring up the strength of pure Burmans [in the fighting forces] to 75 per cent within one or two years."¹⁰ Burmans urged that steps be taken immediately for the manufacture of arms in Burma, the mechanization of the army in Burma, and requested a share of the Rs. 43 crores which Britain allocated for modernization of the fighting services and equipment in India. The general sentiment among Burmans was that the Government policy of defense was "... made in the old British fashion: always cautious but dangerously indecisive."¹¹ In the main the attitude of the Burma press was "helpful and constructive."¹² Only one prominent Burmese daily, *The New Light of Burma*, displayed a veiled anti-British attitude; its views were supported more moderately by the *Deedok*,¹³ while the Dagon Press and the *Dagon Magazine* each forfeited Rs. 500 deposited with the Government to guarantee non-publication of inflammatory articles.¹⁴ The usually radical *Saithan*, although a generally anti-Government supporter of the Freedom for Burma Party, expressed approval of what it termed the "desperation speech" of King George VI on May 24, 1940. The *New Mandalay Sun* declared that Burmans should not pray for the success of Germany and the defeat of Great Britain, an attitude that became more pronounced throughout the country after the dark days of the withdrawal from Flanders and the collapse of France.

Dr. Ba Maw declared in a public meeting in Rangoon Jubilee Hall on June 9, 1940, that "It was immaterial whether Britain or Germany won the war, but when peace proposals were to be discussed, Burma's case should also be laid before the conference table along with those of other small countries."¹⁵ He continued "Whoever wins the war Burma will just have to bring forward its demands," and concluded with the quaint suggestion that, even should Germany win the war, "If Burmans are not given

¹⁰ *New Light of Burma*, June 4, 1940.

¹¹ Statement for the press by U Ba U, ex-Revenue Minister, *Rangoon Gazette*, July 8, 1940.

¹² Opinion of a political correspondent in *Rangoon Gazette*, June 6, 1940.

¹³ Issue of June 2, 1940.

¹⁴ *Rangoon Gazette*, July 15, 1940.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1940.

freedom they can ask the foreigners to return home."¹⁶ This solution appears not to have occurred to the Dutch, the French, or the Norwegians. Ba Maw added that Sir Stafford Cripps, while passing through Burma en route to Chungking in the spring of 1940, had asked him to prepare a statement of Burma's case for consideration at the coming peace conference. Dr. Thein Maung, a political ally of Dr. Ba Maw, was arrested on July 26, 1940, for having delivered a seditious speech which, apparently, he had intended merely as a political address in opposition to the *Myochit* party. Ba Maw was arrested on August 6, under the Defense of Burma Act, and on August 29 was sentenced to a twelve-month prison term for his numerous seditious utterances. His views were repudiated by the great majority of those Burmans who have had Western education and some political experience; Dr. Ba Yin, ex-Minister for Education, while appealing for a clear-cut statement of Great Britain's intention to grant Burma full dominion status, declared before his party that "It is very material to Burma that Britain should win the war, and she shall win."¹⁷ Senator U Kyaw Din in a radio address broadcast his opinion that "Ninety-nine per cent of the people do not desire Britain to lose the war . . . and 65 per cent of the Burmans have absolutely no doubt that Britain will win."¹⁸ Likewise, U Saw, the ardent Nationalist leader of the *Myochit* (patriotic) party, accepted ministerial office and issued a statement to the press: "I cannot desire the defeat of Britain."¹⁹ It must be said, however, that Burmese opinion on the war was determined in part by patriotism but largely by the views of their particular parties. Dr. Ba Maw's many foes, under the leadership of U Saw, who has never been an Anglophile, made political capital of his anti-war statements, and alleged that he had dictatorial ambitions. In the September 1940 session of the Burma Legislature U Ba Thi, who became Finance Minister in the U Saw Government, moved a resolution by which the House of Representatives voted its "regrets that the British Government have made Burma a participant in the war between Great Britain and Germany."²⁰ The resolution caused a considerable sensation and was without doubt taken as evidence

¹⁶ *New Light of Burma*, June 10, and *Rangoon Gazette*, June 12, 1940.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1940.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, June 27.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 19.

²⁰ The resolution is given in full in Appendix VI.

of sincere opposition to the war; it was indicative of a growing national spirit in Burma and fear of possible curtailment of legislative functions and expansion of the power of the executive due to emergency conditions resultant from the war.

Shortly after the outbreak of the war German residents of Burma were put under surveillance. The Collector of Rangoon was appointed Controller of Enemy Property, but German nationals at first were not interned, being merely requested not to leave municipal limits. Alleged leniency with the few Germans in Burma gave rise to parliamentary questions to which the Hon. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India and Burma in the Churchill Government, replied that only nine Germans, all above military age, were at liberty in the country.²¹ All Italians except two were Catholic priests or lay workers for the Church.

There were some 12,000 Europeans, predominantly British, in Burma before the evacuation of 1942, some engaged in the service of Government and others in Commerce. Europeans, although numerically small, had a large share in overseas trade and shipping and in organized industry. They occupied a dominating position in the two largest industries of Burma, oil and timber. The mining industry, extracting silver, lead, tin and tungsten, was largely in their hands. The bulk of inland water transport, in a country so much dependent on riverine communications, was controlled by a Scottish firm owning the largest fleet of inland steamers in the world. The railway system was British-owned until purchased by the Government in 1929. Coastal shipping, until an Indian steamship company entered the scene in recent years, was a European monopoly. Other commercial fields which attracted European capital and enterprise were cement, cotton and rice processing.

Europeans in the country were faced with many readjustments to changing conditions consequent upon the outbreak of the war. Throughout 1940 imported goods were available without great difficulty, and prices did not advance to any great extent. The Government took steps to conserve its dollar exchange, and remittances to foreign countries were put under regulations. Steamer service to India and Britain was subjected to many interruptions and delays. Both the Bibby and Henderson lines, the principal direct passenger and freight services

²¹ *Great Britain and the East*, LV (August, 1940), 152.

from Burma to the United Kingdom, lost a vessel each during the early months of the war due to submarines or mines. The *Kemmendine* vanished at sea en route from London to Rangoon. Mail steamers continued to use the Suez route until Italy entered the war, although that route was closed to passenger and cargo ships.²² In July arrangements were made for children under sixteen of officials and others in Burma to be evacuated from London to Rangoon via Colombo, and for Burmese students in the United Kingdom to return to Burma, or optionally in the case of state scholars to the United States or Canada, the necessary funds being advanced by the High Commissioner for Burma in London.²³ Travel over the unique Gokteik viaduct, a vital link in the line from Rangoon to Lashio and thence to the Burma road, was restricted to British subjects and citizens of countries adjacent to Burma except by special police authority.

Inter-Empire air service from Burma to India and Australia continued without interruption as a part of the Imperial Airways, but direct service to England was discontinued on June 11, the day after Italy entered the war.²⁴ Air France suspended its service through Rangoon after the German victories. The Dutch K.L.M. lines to the East, by means of which several enemy aliens were believed to have escaped by air from India and Burma, on June 27 restricted its services through Rangoon to the flight from Batavia to Lydda. In July 1940 the Imperial Airways announced the resumption of service to England in a great crescent flight from Sydney to Singapore-Rangoon-India South Africa, and thence up the African coast. By the end of 1940 additional precautions were taken against residence or travel of aliens in the frontier areas along French Indo-China, Thailand, and in the islands of the Mergui Archipelago.

All classes and communities in the country undertook war work, a Burma War Donation Fund was started and its subscribers included members of all races in the country, from Burmese dock workers to Indian bankers and European and Chinese businessmen. Burma's gifts to the British war fund were twice those of Madras Presidency, which has four times Burma's population. The Rangoon Turf Club donated Rs. 5 lakhs at one time; the Shan chiefs and their people contributed Rs. 2,67,627

²² Rangoon Gazette, June 10, 1940.

²³ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1940.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1940, and New York Times, June 12, 1940.

before June 1, 1940, in addition to a special donation of £40,000 from the Shan States Federal Fund, Rs. 50,000 from Bawlake State in Karenni, and a donation of £10,000 by the *Sawbwa* of Tawngpeng to the London Lord Mayor's Fund.²⁵ Lady Cochrane organized a Burma War Comforts Association in which women of all nationalities participated with enthusiasm. The newly organized Burmese Women's Freedom League, while urging independence for Burma, hoped for British victory in the war.²⁶

Mail censorship began, and restrictions were placed upon photographing anything likely to give information to potential enemies, particularly from the Far East. A Siamese subject was arrested while attempting to leave Burma with Maps, photographs, and drawings of possible military value. An Anglo-Burman was taken into custody with a collection of Swastika flags and photographs of Hitler. Under the Defence of Burma Act, a communique was issued banning the broadcasting at public gatherings of propaganda or news bulletins from German or Italian radio stations. The communique stated, however, that there were no strictures upon private reception of German or Italian broadcasts.²⁷ There was some uneasiness among petty traders, some of whom unwisely hoarded silver rupees and accepted bank notes only at a discount; to relieve the shortage in coin, one-rupee notes were issued. The Government took steps to counteract the usual bazaar rumors; for example, a Mandalay Indian was arrested for writing to his relatives in India that the Germans had attacked that city. Large posters in English and Burmese were displayed in the cities and villages in an effort to enlighten the public on Great Britain's war aims. One of the most effective posters showed the effect of air bombing of Warsaw and contained a translation of an official announcement alleged to have been published by the Nazi Government in Poland.²⁸ Prominent citizens of all nationalities delivered a series of public radio addresses which gave an informing review of the war aims of both belligerents, inspiring

²⁵ Rangoon *Gazette*, June 25. The total voluntary contributions were in excess of £200,000 at the beginning of 1941.

²⁶ *New Light of Burma*, May 29, 1940.

²⁷ The communique appeared in Rangoon *Gazette*, June 19. News of the successful British attack on Italian naval forces at Taranto was broadcast from London in Burmese.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, June 8. Reproduced in App. VII,

confidence and unifying public opinion. The Ministry pledged unconditional support in the prosecution of the war. Not until the summer of 1940 did Burma residents take a serious view of the struggle. Under the Defence Act the Governor issued a price control order which prevented unjustifiable price increases. An Import Trade Controller was appointed to regulate under license all imports of goods into Burma, and in November the Reserve Bank requisitioned all United States dollar liquid assets in Burma at the standard rate further to control exchange.

Burma's defences received careful attention from British imperial officers during 1941. Strategic highways and airports were completed along the Thailand and China frontiers, including 300 air observation stations from Tenasserim and the Bay of Bengal to Burma's long northern and eastern frontiers that march with those of China, Thailand, and Indo-China. Twenty-four of these stations are within a fifty-mile radius of Rangoon, and presumably helped to account for Japan's heavy losses over that city.

The Burma forces included early in 1942, numerous Chinese troops deployed in the Shan States of Upper Burma to protect the new Yunnan railway and impede any Japanese attempt to cut the Burma Road from bases in Thailand or Indo-China. During 1941, Japan had alleged that these troop movements were under way, and that Chinese forces were actually taking up defense positions in Burma prior to the declarations of war in December, a charge refuted by British authorities. Japan likewise protested the presence of American volunteers in the Chinese air force guarding the Burma Road, a protest supported by certain American senators who charged that permitting American army pilots to volunteer for China was "governmentally immoral."

Internally, Burma's domestic economy was seriously disturbed by the war. Rice exporters found their usual markets greatly curtailed and in some cases eliminated entirely. Shipping shortages, increases in rates of maritime insurance, and the unprecedented boom resulting from the Burma Road, have increased the cost of living to distressing levels, and unemployment has increased among the lower classes. Abrogation of the Burma-Japan trade agreement (on July 26, 1941) increased the price of cotton textiles in the cheaper bazaar trade, and the freezing of Japanese assets at the same time resulted in further disturbance in retail

trade. On the other hand, the middle classes shared in the temporary prosperity which generally accompanies a war.

BURMA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Prior to April 1, 1937, Burma's relations with the League of Nations were identical with those of India, and consequently she participated indirectly in many League activities. When India joined Great Britain in supporting sanctions against Italy as a result of her Ethiopian campaign, Burma became a party to the action.²⁹ The boycott of Italy and Italian goods was pleasing to Burma Moslems who had shown their resentment of Italy's strong action against Libyan tribesmen by discriminating against Italian manufactures. As a part of India, Burma shared the League's investigation of the opium traffic, slavery, labor conditions, and the traffic in women. The most extensive mention of Burma in the League documents had to do with the suppression of slavery in the Triangle and the Hukawng Valley which, until 1934, were unadministered tribal areas in the wedge of Burma separating Assam from Yunnan. In January 1925 Sir Harcourt Butler, then Governor of Burma, visited the Hukawng Valley, and in August the India Office presented a memorandum based upon Sir Harcourt's report of slavery in that area.³⁰ It indicated that nearly one-third of the inhabitants of the malarial valley were slaves, that their lot was "fairly happy," and that their average value was Rs. 80. The Government of Burma undertook to release the slaves, compensate their owners, and recover from the released slaves, in easy instalments. Certain slaves from distant areas or those who had suffered special hardships were presented with the price of their ransom, and no recoveries were made from slaves who remained in Hukawng.

In 1928 the Government of Burma presented a second memorandum on the progress of slavery abolition in upper Burma.³¹ According to this report 3,455 slaves were released in the valley during 1925-26 at a cost of Rs. 1,96,163 in compensation paid to their former owners. Operations were carried out under the direction of Mr. T.P. Dewar of the Burma Frontier Service. Mr. Dewar visited the area in 1926-27 and again during the 1927-28 touring season; his report indicated improved economic condi-

²⁹ The official notice appeared in the *Rangoon Gazette*, November 25, 1935.

³⁰ League of Nations, *Documents of the Sixth Assembly*, 1925. Document A 50, 1925, VI.

³¹ *Ibid.*, *Documents of the Ninth Assembly*, 1928. Document A 24 (a), 1928, VI.

tions among former slaves. In 1926 an expedition under Mr. J. T. O. Barnard was sent to the Triangle; 3,989 slaves were released by the party of 100 Military Police, two Lewis guns, and 150 Chinese muleteers, all under the command of British officers. From 1927 to 1929 the League was informed that a total of 9,000 slaves had been released in the two areas. In 1930 the Kashin Hill Tribes Regulations were extended to Hukawng and the Triangle.³² The areas are at present under light administration, and subsequent visits to the districts indicated that although there had been few attempts at re-enslavement, many slaves were living with their former owners.³³ It should be said that Burmans were in no way involved in slavery in Burma. The practice was restricted to inaccessible areas, and the slave owners invariably were tribal chiefs and headmen. The slaves were members of neighboring tribes or other unfortunates without protection.

Burma, as a province of India, was a party to the numerous international and inter-Empire agreements to which the Indian Empire has adhered during the present century. After separation Burma participated in her own right in various Empire conferences, the first being the London conference called during the summer of 1937 to negotiate a replacement for the Ottawa Agreement. Dr. Thein Maung, Minister for Commerce and formerly Secretary of the Burmese Chamber of Commerce, attended as Burma's representative.³⁴ Burma sent a substantial representation to the coronation of King George VI. Dr. Ba Maw, Burma's first Prime Minister, headed the Burma delegation in the coronation procession, and represented Burma at the various Empire meetings held on that occasion.

SUBSIDIARY STATES

Aside from the Karenni States along the Thailand border, there are no subsidiary states within Burma with which the Government has treaty relations. Karenni owes its unusual position to the fact, already mentioned, that Great Britain and King Mindon of independent Burma agreed by treaty to respect its territorial integrity. In the case of the Federated Shan States, which constitute virtually a sub-province under the Government

³² *India in 1930-31* (Calcutta, 1932), 23-4, and *ibid.*, 1931-32, 24-6.

³³ General aspects of slavery in Burma are discussed in Kathleen Horne (Lady Simon), *Slavery* (London, 1930).

³⁴ *Rangoon Gazette*, April 19, 1937.

the area is British territory and the Shan *sawbwas* are British subjects in contrast to the quasi-independent status maintained by princes of the more important Native States in India. Keng Tung State, for a brief period (1890-95) following the overthrow of Theebaw, enjoyed a special position of greater independence, but upon granting a *sanad* to the late Sao Kwang Kiao Intaleng in 1897 his position was regularized.³⁵

The six Northern Shan States with an area of 20,156 square miles and a population of 636,000 and the thirty Southern Shan States with an area of 36,157 square miles and a population of 870,000, were joined in federation in 1922 under a plan formulated by Sir Reginald Craddock. Prior to the British annexation of 1886 they were in loose feudatory relationship to the King of Burma.³⁶ The states are rich in natural resources and, since the *Pax Britannica* has been established, have increased in wealth and commerce. The largest state is Keng Tung whose eastern border meets French Indo-China at the Mekong. It has an area of 12,300 square miles and a population of 225,000. Hsipaw, the richest state, has an area of 4,400 square miles, a population of 150,000 and a gross annual revenue of Rs. 10,62,418 (approximately \$400,000). The total area of Shan States is about 56,000 square miles and their population in 1941 was 1,616,971, or an average of 28 to the square mile.

Although British territory, the states are quasi-autonomous in their internal administration as conducted by *sawbwas* or hereditary chiefs who exercise in their own persons the power of life and death in accordance with Shan customary law. The *sawbwas* of Keng Tung, Hsipaw, Yawngghwe, and Mongnai enjoy hereditary salutes of nine guns, while Sao Kin Maung, *Sawbwa* of Mong Mit, had a personal salute of the same number prior to his death in 1938.

Under the Federation of 1922, the Chiefs administer their own states, collect taxes, and retain responsibility for law and order. They are assisted in administration by superintendents chosen from among the Burma Frontier Service. The Federation is responsible for the centralized Departments of Public Works, Forests, Education, Agriculture, and Public Welfare.

³⁵ Aitchison, *op. cit.*, 1931 ed., XII, 199-283, has examples of *sanads* granted to *sawbwas*.

³⁶ The official account of the British occupation of the Shan States is in *Upper Burma Gazetteer*, I, Part I, 187-330; Crosthwaite, *op. cit.*, 133-87, is a reliable account by the responsible civil officer.

A portion of the state revenues is paid into the Federal Fund to support these services while a share goes to the general revenues of Burma. The Joint Select Committee proposed that the Federated Shan States after separation should be credited with a share of the customs receipts at Burma ports as well as with a proportion of the income and other taxes collected in Burma.³⁷ The laws of Burma do not apply to the Shan States, unless so specified by the Governor. Much of the land is held on communal tenure.

Detailed financial arrangements between Burma and the Shan States were not a part of the new constitution but were settled by an Order in Council.³⁸ The states continue to have a Federal fund. It is apparently the intention to maintain unity among the states and to preserve their fiscal and administrative separation from Burma proper. In the main, the excluded and partially excluded areas are administered by the Burma Frontier Service, the members of which are appointed by the Governor under terms of salary and pension framed by him.³⁹ The money required for the Governor's administration of these areas is not subject to legislative vote.⁴⁰ The reserved forests in the Shan States and elsewhere are under the management of the Forest Department of the Government of Burma, but subject to an increasing degree of control by the several states.⁴¹

The present tendency in relations with the Shan States permits the chiefs greater autonomy. Much of the area is governed by Shan customary law, modified by the application of many of the rules and laws which apply to the remainder of Burma. Succession in the sawbwaships is ordinary by inheritance, but each new ruler must be confirmed by British approval before he assumes office. The wealth of the Shan *sawbwas*, while considerable, in no case compares with that of Indian Princes of even the second rank.⁴² Tawngpeng and North Hsenwi, under enlightened rulers who have traveled abroad, derive much of their wealth from the mining properties of the Burma Corporation located in their states. The *Myosa* (i. e., the town eater) of

³⁷ J. S. C., I, Part I, 271.

³⁸ Section 386, Government of Burma Act, 1935.

³⁹ Section 431, Government of India Act.

⁴⁰ Section 377, *ibid.*

⁴¹ J. S. C., I, Part I, 272.

⁴² Maurice Collis, "Courts of the Shan Princes," *Asian Affairs*, 1930, pp. 330-42, is an excellent illustrated article on the Shan *sawbwas* and the *Lords of the Sunset* (New York, 1938).

Mong Sit, the last surviving chief who had ruled under Theebaw, died in April 1935, and most of the states are now governed by young men with British training. Perhaps the best-known *sawbwa* was Sao On Kya, M.A. (Oxon.) who died in 1938 after a long rule in Hsipaw State. His grandfather, Sao Hkun Gaing, had visited England, the Continent, and Australia as the first *sawbwa* to travel outside the Indian Empire. Sao On Kya, shortly before his death, took the unusual step of divorcing his Mahadevi and prohibiting her from again entering Hsipaw State. The *sawbwa* of Keng Tung died in July 1935, and his son and heir, Sao Kawng Tai, was murdered in the grounds of his *haw* shortly before he was to have been confirmed in office. The state, strategically important since it borders Yunnan, French Indo-China, and Thailand, was governed by a council under the direction of Captain V. G. Robert of the Burma Frontier Service.

In their relations with Burma the larger states are guided by advisors who are usually members of the Burma Frontier Service or officers of the Army on detached service. The *sawbwaws* meet annually in council with the Commissioner of the Federated Shan States in Taunggyi for discussion of their mutual problems, including disbursement of the Federal Fund. The Commissioner has his Residency in Taunggyi; an Assistant Superintendent is stationed at Lashio for the Northern Shan States. The Shan States send no representatives to the Legislature, and the High Court has no jurisdiction in the states except over Europeans there resident. Although they do not automatically come into force, many of the basic laws of Burma are extended to the area by proclamation of the Governor. No customs barriers are imposed upon trade between Burma and the Shan States, in lieu of which the Federal Fund of the states, as has been mentioned, is credited with a share of the Burma custom receipts. For many years no residents of the Shan States were assessed income tax. Economically the area is less developed than Burma proper, but the improvement of road transportation has resulted in commercial expansion. The Mawchi-Toungoo road which taps the rich tungsten and tin areas in Karenni was completed in 1937. Loikaw in Karenni has a landing field, and there are numerous airports in the Northern Shan States. There are close economic and cultural ties with Burma and the best interests of the states probably will be advanced by development of relations with the

remainder of Burma.

Off the southern coast of Burma lie the Andaman and Nicobar Islands; the former, 120 miles from the Burma mainland, have an area of 2,508 square miles divided among 204 islands. The population in 1940 was estimated at less than 20,000 and included descendants of many liberated prisoners from its penal colony used by Burma and India. There were 6,177 in the penal colony in 1937, but this number has been considerably reduced since that time. The native population includes a tribe of pygmies.

The Nicobars, a chain of islands beginning 75 miles south of the Andamans and extending to within 150 miles of the northern tip of Sumatra, have a population of about 10,000 natives of mixed Burmese and Malayan blood. During most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Nicobars were in Danish possession. Both island groups have valuable timber resources, but because of the prevalence of tropical fevers they are little developed. The Chief Commissioner of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is appointed by the Government of India. The islands have never been under Burmese control, either before or after the British occupation of Burma. There is some trade with Rangoon, Bassein, and Moulmein, but economic development is not well advanced. Education in the islands is under direction of the Government of Burma, and they are included in the territory of the Anglican Bishop of Rangoon. In 1869 Denmark abandoned the Nicobars to Great Britain which then joined them to the Andamans for administrative purposes.⁴³ Upon separation of Burma from India in 1937, India retained control of both island groups.

CONCLUSION

One of the most difficult problems encountered in a survey of modern Burma is that of gauging adequately and objectively the depth and force of Burmese nationalism. Perhaps the most perplexing aspects of this problem result from the fact that Burmese nationalism, in its present militant form, is of compa-

⁴³ The best books on the Islands are C. Foden Kloss, *In the Andaman and Nicobars* (London, 1903); George Whitehead, *In the Nicobar Islands* (London, 1924); E. H. Mann, *The Nicobar Islands* (Guilford, The Royal Asiatic Society, n.d. but probably 1937); Alfred Reginald Balchaff-Lewis, *The Andaman Islands* (Cambridge, 1922). See also John L. Chavira, "Denmark's Interest in Burma and the Nicobar Islands," *IBPS* XXIX (1937), 215-32.

relatively recent origin—certainly since 1922. Some have said that it may be dated from the organization of the Young Men's Buddhist Association in 19 Moreover, in 1937 a full-blown cabinet system and party government were introduced into a Burma that had, in the opinion of competent observers, too little experience with responsible government. Consequently, since 1937 it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish between genuine nationalism, which springs from the inner strength of a nation, and a bogus, demagogic form cultivated for political fodder. In addition, prominent characteristics of Burma and the Burmese are their provincialism, their lack of experience with the modern world; the preponderant influence of the Buddhist clergy—excellent men in their own fields but woefully lacking in their efforts to substitute yellow robes for sound principles of political science; and the exaggerated estimate current in Burma as to that country's commercial importance, coupled with a general absence of sound economics, personal and national, throughout the country.

But all is not lost. Pessimism is never a characteristic attitude of Burmans, and it should not be among those who study that delightful country. The Burmese, politicians and people, have a residue of astute good sense that augurs well for the future of the country. The last Chief Justice of Burma before the inauguration of the new constitution in 1937 stated his belief that democracy stood to flourish better in Burma than elsewhere in the Orient.⁴⁴ The extreme individualism of the Burman, which is frequently the despair of his friends, indicates that he is not easily dragooned into any mass movement for any great length of time. He quickly detects insincerity among his own political leaders or among the visiting British. Any budding dictator is certain to have hard going in Burma.

Somehow the imperialist in Burma does not have the stature of that popular *bête noir* of other days. Imperialism in the old sense is dead, at least so far as Burma and the British are concerned. In fact, the annexation of Upper Burma came at the end of the epic age of imperialism in the Indian Empire; since that time there have been no extensive additions to the territory of the British Empire beyond the Red Sea.

Perhaps the European has paid himself well for the development of Burma into a modern state, but the profit motive was,

⁴⁴ Sir Arthur Page, *loc. cit.*, 232.

of course, the original mainspring of imperialism the world over. It is believed that the present connection between Burma and Great Britain is one of the mutual profit. Hardly a modern Burman would deny that the association, at least thus far, of this country and Great Britain has been beneficial. Likewise, there have been numerous instances of genuine affection and loyalty between Burmans and British officials and non-officials. Never has there existed in Burma the attitude of mutual aspersion, as between Occidental and Oriental, that was at one time almost universal in China. The Burma Dinner is held annually in London, a festive occasion at which officials and businessmen who have resided in Burma meet to renew memories of pleasant days in the silken East. Burmese officials who chance to be in England are certain to be honored guests.

Should Burmans indicate satisfaction with full membership as a self-governing dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations, this will undoubtedly be their reward for loyal assistance in the present conflict. Everyone will understand Burma's determination not to be the last country under alien rule, but it is not always realized that already the country has all of the forms of democracy and that the best way to grow into the full structure of home rule is by evolution, not revolution.

CHAPTER XVI

THE JAPANESE CAMPAIGN FOR BURMA

Japan's campaign for the occupation of Burma is best understood when viewed as a part of her remarkable surge of power following the sudden attack on Pearl Harbor. Within six months the British, Americans, and Dutch were expelled from their holdings in Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific Islands. Likewise, the French, before and after Pearl Harbor, ceased to be in effective control of Indo-China; Thailand, the only independent state in the region, capitulated virtually without resistance. Events in Burma should be viewed in perspective with the progress of the war elsewhere in Southeast Asia. On December 25, 1941, Hong Kong capitulated, followed in 1942 by Singapore on February 15, Bandung (Java) on March 7, Rangoon on March 8, Batan on April 9, Lashio on April 30, and the final withdrawal from the Chindwin Valley the second week of May.

These campaigns were closely coordinated and together constitute one of the most astonishing military accomplishments in history. Elements of two of the first Japanese divisions to enter Burma (the 55th and 18th) took part in the campaigns in Malaya, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands, in addition to the cowering of Indo-China and Thailand. The master plan in the minds of the Japanese military strategists undoubtedly called for the sudden occupation of Burma as a shield for their new conquests in Southeast Asia. In fact, the mountain wall and malarious valleys separating India from Burma provided an excellent bulwark for Japan's new gains, a barrier that was not pierced until General Wingate's Long Range Penetration Groups crossed the Chindwin in 1943 and General Stilwell's forces reached the Hukawng Valley and Myitkyina in 1944. In March 1944, the Japanese themselves penetrated the mountain wall in their invasion of Manipur. The second great advantage to Japan in the occupation of Burma was the severance of the Burma Road to China.

BRITISH DEFENDING FORCES

At the beginning of the Burma campaign the British defending forces consisted of the First Burma Division and the 17th Indian Division. In theory, the strength of each division was some 15,000 men. The 17th Division had initially approximately 12,000 men. The recently organized 1st Burma Division had about 8,000 troops, many of them only partly trained. The total force available to the British defenders was perhaps 35,000 men, but the actual combat strength was never greater than 25,000. Of these not more than 4,000 were British; but 7,000 were Indian. The remaining forces consisted principally of units raised in Burma, in the main from such peripheral groups as Chins, Kachins, Karens, and Shans. Most of the officers were British, although the recently raised Shan battalions were officered generally by the Sawbwas. The Indian Division had a large proportion of European officers in addition to the usual British battalions and certain British technical personnel.

Many of the units for the defense of Burma were much below authorized strength. All of the troops were weak in supporting arms and equipment, while anti-armor weapons were practically non-existent. Aircraft and anti-aircraft weapons were far below requirements. A few obsolescent Brewster Buffaloes and Blenheims constituted the air strength aided by the AVG Group which was in Rangoon fitting out for service in China. Initially no armored elements were on hand except for a few old carriers and armored cars for training. Motor transport was inadequate.

Burma Rifle units varied greatly in quality. Some were excellent troops only slightly inferior to the regulars. Many of the new units were of negligible military value. The composition of the troops raised in Burma was about as follows:

The Burma Rifles, somewhat on the order of Philippine Scouts. Some of them lacked training and all were short of equipment. Racially, they were a mixed group. Just before the outbreak of war Burmese were being recruited in larger numbers, but Karens, Kachins, Chins, and Indians were in the majority.

The Frontier Force, recruited in part from the fighting races of the Burma hill tracts but containing a majority of Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Punjabis. They were formerly known as the Military Police and, as the name indicates, duty on the frontiers of Burma.

was their normal role. They had a good reputation in peace time and were highly valued by their British officers. But their performance during the campaign was not always up to expectation.

The Auxiliary Force. These were in theory composed principally of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, and Anglo-Burmans and included the railway battalions. In peace time these units functioned much as the National Guard in the United States or the Territorial Force in England. Just before the outbreak of war Burmese were recruited and Burmese officers trained and commissioned.

The Territorial Force, including the Rangoon University Cadet Corps, which included many Burmese.

CHINESE FORCES IN BURMA

As the Japanese attack on Malaya developed with lightning rapidity and her forces began concentrating in northern and western Thailand, it became apparent to Britain, China, and America that a very real threat existed to the Burma Road and Yunnan. Shortly after Pearl Harbor General Wavell flew to Chungking from Rangoon to interview the Generalissimo. The C-in-C, India, asked that the AVG might remain in Rangoon for the defense of that port and that certain lend-lease supplies then on the Rangoon docks awaiting transport over the Burma Road, might be diverted for use of the Imperial forces defending Burma. In these requests he had the support of the Governor of Burma. The first request was granted at once, the second a short time later. At the same time Chiang-Kai-shek offered the V and VI Chinese Armies for the defense of Burma. Despite the frequent allegation that the offer was declined, arrangements actually were made at the time for the employment of Chinese forces. The 93rd Division was accepted at once and en toto. Its 227th Regiment moved into Burma immediately and established headquarters at Mongyawng, near Kengtung, on January 1, 1942. Later in the month the remainder of the division was ordered to Kengtung. The 49th Division was to be moved at once to Wanting on the Burma frontier pending arrangements for supply, arms, and other administrative problems. It was agreed that the 55th Chinese Division, then scattered throughout Yunnan, should be left where it was. The Chinese V army was to be concentrated as a reserve in the Kunming area while administrative and supply problems were under study. Events

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moved rapidly; by mid-January the remainder of the 49th Division was moving to the Takan area to complete equipment and training. Later in January the 49th and 55th Divisions of the Chinese VI Army were committed and began moving forward as soon as transport could be provided. By February Lt. General Hutton met the Generalissimo in Lashio and it was agreed to move the Chinese V Army consisting of the 22, 96, and 200 Divisions into the defense of Toungoo. The 200th Division was reportedly one of the best trained and equipped in the Chinese army and gave valiant service in Burma.

Eventually more than 50,000 troops of the Chinese V and VI Armies, each of these divisions, together with the 28th and 38th Divisions of the 66th Army were in Burma. All of the Chinese troops were inadequately supplied with supporting arms and services. The dispositions of the Chinese troops were such that perhaps not more than half of them came into contact with the enemy prior to the final stages of the campaign. Journalists in Burma and in the Calcutta hotels at the time professed to see something sinister in the British failure to utilize Chinese troops at once and in large numbers.

In fact, the physical problem of moving 50,000 troops over the Burma Road (already crowded near capacity by material being rushed out of Rangoon) was not one to be solved overnight by typewriter experts. Added to this was the question of finding arms, ammunition, food, medical stores, engineer supplies, signal equipment, motor vehicles and railway stock for the Chinese and for their transport 823 miles by mountain road from Kunming to Mandalay. Concurrently the rapid advance of the enemy was causing great confusion and disorganization in the ordinary communication facilities of Burma, while the Burma Army was itself critically short of many items of equipment.

Meantime, Hong Kong, Manila, Corregidor, Singapore, Java and Rangoon were tumbling about the ears of the bewildered world. In point of fact, Burma did hold out longer than the Philippines, Malaya, and Java and the other islands of Dutch Insulinde. There is no reason to believe that the civil government and the military forces in Burma put up a performance in any respect less creditable than that of any other area of South-east Asia.

MANAGING A WAR

Frequent changes of boundaries and questions of how to manage a war in Southeast Asia arose just before and after Pearl Harbor. Upon the political separation of Burma from India on April 1, 1937, an independent Burma military command was created. The military forces then came under the G.O.C. Burma, with direct responsibility to the War Office instead of being, as previously, under the C-in-C, India. When the British Far Eastern Command was established in Singapore in November 1940, with Air Chief Marshal Sir Robert Brooke-Popham as C-in-C, Far East, the Burma Command came into the newly-created command together with the Malaya Command and China Command. On December 15, 1941 Burma reverted to the Command of General Sir Archibald Wavell, then C-in-C, India. On December 27, 1941, Lt. General T. J. Hutton succeeded Lt. General D. K. McLeod as G.O.C., Burma. In January 1942, the short-lived ABDA, South West Pacific Command, under General Wavell, was formed with its headquarters in Java, and Burma was transferred to it for operational purposes. On February 22, 1942 Burma was returned again to the charge of the C-in-C, India, and on March 5th, General Sir Harold Alexander took over command of the Army in Burma, Lt. General Hutton remaining for a time as Chief of Staff.

Administrative and command questions related to the employment of United Nations troops were early made the subject of Allied negotiations. On December 30, 1941, President Roosevelt suggested to the Generalissimo and to the Press that the latter might assume command of the forces of the United Nations in the China theater, "including such parts of Indo-China and Thailand as might become accessible to our troops". Early in January 1942 discussions were joined between the United States and China with respect to the appointment of an American officer as Chief of Staff to the Joint Staff being organized under Chiang Kai-shek as Supreme Commander of the Chinese theater. In some quarters it was thought that a senior American officer might serve usefully in a liaison capacity between British and Chinese commanders. On March 4, 1942 Major General Joseph W. Stilwell arrived in Chungking and assumed the post of Chief of Staff of Allied Forces under the Generalissimo on the 10th. General Stilwell reported within a week that he had arranged for the supply and maintenance of the Chinese

troops by the British since the former had no services except insufficient medical, signal, and transport units. On the 14th March General Stilwell reached Burma in virtual command of the Chinese forces. His orders, however, were issued over the signature of General Lo Cho Ying, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Expeditionary Force. Later in March General Alexander visited Chungking. The Generalissimo at the time emphasized the need for unity of command and asked General Alexander to accept command of all Chinese troops in Burma. To this General Stilwell agreed and there were no further major changes of command during the campaign.

ENEMY FORCES

Against these Allied forces the Japanese had by the end of the campaign four divisions of infantry (with a strength of three) and two tank regiments. These divisions were, in the order of their arrival, the 55th, the 33rd, the 18th, and the 56th. The 33rd and 55th Divisions were each short one infantry regiment and about one fourth of their divisional artillery on the actual front. These groups totaled between 50 and 75,000 men, veterans from China, Indo-China, Thailand, and Malaya. Unit for unit they were perhaps superior in training and equipment to the Allied forces, except for the British overseas battalions and one Indian battalion which was reportedly the best in the Indian Army.

The 55th Division sailed for Indo-China in November 1941. It then went by road from Saigon to Bangkok in December. By mid-January it crossed the Burma frontier via Pitsanuloke, Raheng, and Moulmein. One of its regiments made the attack from Chumphorn across the Kra Isthmus to Victoria Point and north to Mergui and Tavoy. One of its regiments went to Guam and New Guinea where it was destroyed in the Buna campaign. This division fought against both the British and the Chinese in Burma and since 1943 has held the Arakan sector. The 33rd Division, after service in Central China, landed in Bangkok by sea in January 1942 and followed the 55th Division into Burma. Elements of both divisions were present at the battle of the Sittang bridge. It reached Rangoon just after the evacuation and led the drive against the 17th Indian Division up the Irrawaddy Valley. One of its regiments invaded Arakan.

The 18th Division, considered one of the best in the Japanese Army, came to Southeast Asia after four years in China and a



Paracana from Point 1019 in Arica. Supply line in for ground.

few months in Indo-China. It landed at Khota Bahru, Malaya, on December 8th, where it suffered heavy casualties. It spear-headed the attack down the east coast of Malaya and was present at the fall of Singapore on February 16th. It landed at Rangoon by sea early in April 1942, complete except for one infantry brigade which was later destroyed at Guadal canal. At the end of the Burma campaign it was assigned to Shan States area, and later took over the defense of Mogaung-Myitkyina-Hpimaw-Sumprabum. Here it met the forces of General Stilwell and General Wingate in 1943 and 1944.

The 56th Japanese Division, which landed in Rangoon by sea late in April 1942, had been stationed in Manchuria prior to its assignment to Burma. Its principal achievement in the campaign was the drive up to Lashio via the Toungoo-Mawchi road, thence through Loikaw to Loilem and Lashio. It was aided by part of one armored regiment. It advanced up the Burma Road to the Salween, and since the end of the campaign has remained on the Lashio-Salween front in a relatively inactive capacity.

THE CAMPAIGN

The Japanese campaign resulting in the occupation of Burma may be divided into four phases:

1. Assembly of Japanese forces on the Thailand-Burma frontier, culminating in the seizure of Tavoy on January 19, 1942, and of Moulmein on January 30.
2. Penetration of lower Burma along the Pegu-Moulmein railway, resulting in the occupation of Pegu on March 7 and of Rangoon on the following day. Rangoon was occupied by the Japanese exactly three months after the attack on Pearl Harbor.
3. The seizure of Lower Burma ending with the possession of Prome and Toungoo on April 2.
4. The Japanese advance to the Mandalay area coupled with a parallel drive through Karenni, the western Shan States, and the Salween area. These offences, perhaps the most successful in the Burma campaign, culminated in the loss of Mandalay and of the Chinese positions in Central Burma and the Shan States. The rapid advance of the Japanese in this final phase was marked by the occupation of Lashio on April 26, followed within the

week by scattering of the Chinese forces and their retreat across the frontier, and by the British withdrawal up the Chindwin.

A chronological account of the principal events of the campaign by two week periods follows:

December 8-31, 1941. The Japanese opened the war with rapid occupation of several points in Thailand both to secure bases for operations against Malaya and Burma and to forestall preventative seizure by the British. As a result Thailand was taken over with its railways, roads, ports, and other facilities virtually undamaged. These communications and resources of Siam were of the utmost value to the Japanese during the Burma and Malaya campaigns.

Japanese forces effected landings at Prachaub Kirikhan and at Chumphorn, on the Siamese side of the Kra Isthmus, within twenty-four hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor, and proceeded to seize advanced British airfields and communications along the Tenasserim peninsula. The Mergui and Tavoy airfields were bombed, and Moulmein and Rangoon were reconnoitered. Japanese patrols reached out toward Victoria Point and several points along the Burma-Siam frontier. The British destroyed the airdrome at Victoria Point. A screen of light British forces took up security positions along the frontier and engaged in minor clashes with Thai-Japanese forces.

A British attempt to cut the important Bangkok-Singapore railway south of Prachaub Kirikhan failed. Reinforcements for Burma arrived from India. The R.A.F. and A.V.G. countered with occasional raids against Japanese-held airfields. On the 15th Rangoon had its first air raid alarm. No bombs were dropped until December 23 when the Japanese air arrived with 60 bombers and 30 fighters force and lost eleven planes. Some 500 people were killed and 2500 wounded, on Christmas Day, as a result of a raid by 80 bombers escorted by 20 fighters. But casualties were not heavy. The A.V.G. and R.A.F. bagged 14 fighters and 7 bombers. As a result of the raids about 100,000 people fled from the city, although many returned. Early in January a Burmese newspaper reported, "Life in the city is returning to normal; daylight robberies have been resumed." In fact, the end of the month saw transportation utilities, and other areas much dislocated. Meantime the Japanese concentrated concentration behind a light screen of Siamese forces, and Thai

transportation facilities were being organized rapidly to support the Japanese drive into Burma. The first offensive action against Burma was a raid on the Tavoy airfield on December 11th. Two days later the Victoria Point airfield was bombed, and the town at the southern tip of Burma was occupied on December 15th.

January 1-15, 1942. Concentration of Japanese forces against Malaya delayed the opening of their drive against Burma. Air action continued; the Allies were able to maintain a tenuous superiority over Rangoon while the Japanese conducted minor raids against Moulmein. The port of Rangoon operated with difficulty as nearly 50 per cent of the Indian dock labor had left the city. Soldiers and inexperienced labor were used to assist in moving large supplies from the port. It was reported that a lack of rice in the Shan States had delayed the move of the Chinese 6th Army into Burma. A few British and Indian reinforcements arrived from India. Despite their preoccupation elsewhere, the Japanese during this period succeeded in concentrating small striking forces east of Moulmein in preparation for an attack.

January 16-31, 1942. During the second half of January the scale and intensity of Japanese action in Burma increased considerably. Japanese ground forces brushed aside the forward troops in Tenasserim and occupied in a series of east to west thrusts from the Siamese side of the peninsula, Mergui and Tavoy. Moulmein, the first strong defensive position, was the target for repeated bombing attacks. Japanese forces concentrated in the vicinity of Raheng and Mehsord opened an offensive against Moulmein by sending columns across the hills from the east, south, and north. British defenders sought to hold Moulmein with a perimeter defense, but their forces were pushed back by an enemy superior in numbers and equipment. Japanese submarines operating from Penang sank two Allied ships off the mouths of the Irrawaddy. Elements of the 93rd Chinese Division took up positions at Mong Payak, south of Kengtung on the road from Chiengrai, while an Indian Infantry Brigade was placed to cover the eastern approaches to Rangoon. As a result of extensive Japanese air activity over the Mingaladon Airport the R.A.F. shifted to Magwe and the A.V.G. to Tangay. The R.A.F. with the A.V.G., managed to keep a slight but air superiority over Rangoon during the month. Pearl

ember 23, 1941 and February 25, 1942, the Japanese directed a total of 31 day and night attacks against the Rangoon area. The Japanese losses were 233 enemy fighters and bombers to less than fifty Allied planes. British ships continued to enter the port of Rangoon until about the beginning of March. Disorganization of communications and shortage of labor became progressively worse.

At the end of the month the British withdrew to the west bank of the Salween at Martaban on January 30 after severe fighting. Prior to their crossing of the Salween the Japanese ground forces in Burma numbered no more than two or three regiments of infantry. From the defenders' point of view the entire Burma campaign was necessarily being fought as a delaying action.

February 1-15, 1942. The absorption of Japanese resources in the assault on Singapore Island, the lack of supporting arms for their regiments in Moulmein, and the strength of the British positions west of the great Salween River slowed down the Japanese move against Burma. Japanese supply difficulties caused the enemy to turn to road building to improve communications between the Thailand railway and the Burma front. Bullock carts, and pack animals were used and some tonnage was carried by elephant transport. The initial crossing of the Salween in strength was made at Paan, forty miles north of Moulmein, on February 9th. The defenders were not numerous enough to prevent infiltration across the Salween, and Martaban was enveloped and occupied by February 10th. Sharp fighting occurred as the British withdrew, this time to the line of the Bilin River. During the dry season this proved to be an inadequate obstacle. An additional Indian brigade arrived as reinforcement from India. The British withdrawal was carried out along the Pegu-Martaban railway, while constant infiltration by small boats along the coast and by Japanese parties in the foothills north of the railway resulted in partial envelopment of the British flank.

February 16-28, 1942. Some of the fiercest fighting of the campaign occurred during February 17-18 as the Japanese attacked the British positions along the Bilin River. Strong counter attacks by British and Gurkha troops were unsuccessful since it was impossible for available forces to prevent continual infiltration into rear areas. Further withdrawal became necessary. The British bombed Martaban and Moulmein while the

Japanese struck back at Toungoo and Pyinmana. Mandalay experienced its first air raid on February 18. Casualties were light although in a later raid 400 were killed. The R.A.F. and A.V.G. supported ground troops with good effect at the Bilin River. The situation in Rangoon deteriorated rapidly and exodus of the civil population, particularly the laboring classes, continued. Meantime steps had been taken to plan for the evacuation of Rangoon. The military authorities decided to hoist the "E" signal on February 20; under this plan owners of all non-essential vehicles were given 48 hours in which to get them out of the city or render them unserviceable. Rangoon became a deserted city, although many of the senior officials of the Government of Burma remained behind, including Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, the Governor. The final warning signal was given on February 28, and demolitions were put into effect on March 6, with the enemy 24 hours distant.

On February 23, British forces now organized into the 17th Indian Division and the 1st Burmese Division, suffered disaster at the Sittang. Prior to this the defending forces had withdrawn with their arms and equipment substantially intact, including motor transport although some had been lost at Moulmein. The eastern end of the great Sittang bridge was seized before all of the 17th Indian Division had crossed to the Pegu side. One span of the bridge was destroyed at 5.30 on the morning of February 23, and part of the 17th Indian Division were caught between the advancing Japanese forces and the river. Much equipment was lost and several British, Indian and Gurkha units were badly shattered. Including one battalion of the Koyli and of the Duke of the Wellington's regiment. It was estimated that the Japanese lost 2000 dead in the immediate vicinity of the bridge.

The only bright spot at the moment was the arrival of the 7th Armored Brigade, consisting of the 7 Hussars and the 2nd Royal Tanks, and a battalion of the Cameronians via Rangoon. The Armored Brigade was equipped with U. S. light tanks and had seen active service in the Middle East. This Brigade rendered valiant service throughout the campaign, in fact extrication of the British forces to India up the Irrawaddy and Chindwin would probably have been impossible without it. They broke repeated road blocks, held Japanese armor at bay, and retired in some strength to the Chindwin crossing opposite Kalewa where the tanks were destroyed on May 9, in absence of ferry-

ing facilities. Patrol action was reported along the northern Thailand border during the period. Although the enemy still had difficulty in the air over Rangoon (29 of his planes were shot down on the 25th) his ground forces pressed forward and with now famous infiltration tactics menaced the Rangoon-Mandalay road near Pegu. The threat of these moves was partially relieved by arrival of forward elements of Chinese units at Toungoo.

March 1-15, 1942. Bitter fighting along the Sittang River and arrival of British tanks at the front brought another lull in Japanese activity. Enemy infiltration established road blocks at Wa Pyinbon, and south of Pyuntaza on March 3 and 4. By the 5th, Pegu was outflanked and the Rangoon-Mandalay railway cut. Prior to this time the Japanese had shown no armored vehicles and practically no artillery in Burma. Artillery and anti-tank guns had now to be brought up from Thailand, and the first Japanese tanks were contacted on March 4th when a Japanese force began moving through the gap between the Pyinbon road block and Pegu across the Pegu Yomas in an effort to cut the Rangoon-Prome road and railway and thus complete the isolation of Rangoon on the land side. Gurkhas, Cameronians, and elements of the West Yorkshire Regiment and of the Armored Brigade bore the brunt of the fighting in the Pegu area. On the 7th, three enemy tanks were destroyed.

Decision to evacuate Rangoon was made as a result of Japanese penetration to the Prome line at Wanetchaung. The 7th Armored Brigade, leading the evacuation, ran into enemy road blocks, supported by anti-tank guns, at Wanetchaung and Taubkayan on the Prome road. These guns had been brought over the Pegu Yomas and accounted for several British carriers and one tank. On March 5, General Sir Harold Alexander took command of the Army in Burma, vice General Hutton who remained for a time as Chief of Staff. General Alexander's first effort was an attempt to effect a juncture between the 17th Indian Division and the First Burma Division, which had been in the Toungtha Shan States area, thus holding a line along the Rangoon-Mandalay Railway. But this became impossible due to heavy Japanese pressure in the Pegu area. Consequently, the British withdrawal north was made in two columns, the main body of the 17th Indian Division along the road from Rangoon to Prome and the Burma Division along the road to Toungoo, where the

later passed through the line held by the Chinese Fifth Army. The 55th Chinese Division completed its concentration in Karenni. By the middle of March a British-Indian force of about 12,000 and Chinese forces of about 50,000 attempted to establish a general line Prome-Toungoo along which to make a stand.

Disaffected Burmese elements in the population became a problem and began to show some military results at this point in the campaign. Some Burmese officers and troops in the British forces fought very well throughout the entire campaign, but many of the Burmese and Shan units of the 1st Burma Division (as distinguished from Karen, Kachin, and Chin units) became unreliable, partly through disaffection and partly through inexperience. Release of these doubtful companies was authorized. Not many actual desertions with arms took place, and very few previously in the British service appeared in the ranks of the Burma Independence Army which cooperated with the Japanese. The usual motives were the desire to return to look after their families, coupled with a lack of interest in the war, and the knowledge that the British forces would retire to India and thus out of their homeland. There was little sabotage behind British lines.

March 16-31, 1942. By the 18th March Chinese forces were emplaced in strength in the Toungoo sector, and the First Burma Division prepared to join the British Imperial forces in the Irrawaddy Valley. The fighting continued northward along two main axes; the 17th Indian Division plus the 7th Armored Brigade fought a series of delaying actions along the Rangoon-Prome Road, while the Chinese forces were taking up positions north of Toungoo. The most severe engagements along the Prome Road were at Letpadan, Padigon, Paungde, and Shwedaung. At Shwedaung, on the outskirts of Prome, fighting was severe with heavy casualties. The Queens Own Hussars lost 10 tanks at the Shwedaung road block on the 30th and loss of motor transport was heavy. The Japanese 33rd Division pressed hard up the Irrawaddy Valley and the 55th Division did the same up the Sittang. Following the fall of Singapore, the enemy began concentrating greater forces, including tanks, in Burma. Japanese GHQ for southeast Asia moved to Bangkok. Allied air units were effective in occasional raids; 25 enemy planes were reported destroyed on the ground at Moulmein on March 20th. Enemy air forces began concentrating in Thailand in an in-

creasingly successful effort to wrest air superiority from the small but efficient air forces in Burma. On the 21st and 22nd heavy Japanese raids on Magwe destroyed the field and nearly all RAF planes in Burma. The AVG, now based on Toungoo, also suffered heavily before its withdrawal to Yunnan. In short, Allied air power in Burma was virtually eliminated, and the troops were without substantial air support for the remainder of the campaign.

In the Sittang Valley sharp fighting occurred when the 200th and the 22nd Chinese Divisions made a strong stand at Toungoo after taking over from the 1st Burma Division which moved into the British reserve north of Prome. After several days fighting at Toungoo the Chinese withdrew slightly, and it was necessary for the Japanese to bring up reinforcements before advancing further. The Chinese forces were unable to take advantage of the Japanese weakness because of their own lack of supporting arms and equipment.

On March 23, the Andaman Islands were occupied by the enemy without opposition and became a useful screen for later ship movements to Rangoon from Singapore. The Nicobars were not occupied until June. Some desertions among railway workers and crews of river steamers continued, but with shortening Allied lines sufficient skilled labor remained to work the railways. Supply of the Chinese divisions continued to be a problem as did the increasing numbers of refugees, principally Indians attempting the overland routes to India from upper Burma. Cholera appeared among the troops of the 17th Indian Division and in refugee camps in Mandalay and Kalewa. By the end of March plans were under way for the withdrawal from Mandalay.

April 1-15, 1942. During the first half of April the Japanese began heavy reinforcement through Rangoon by sea, thus avoiding the difficult Raheng-Moulmein road. One convoy of 40 ships averaging 5,000 tons, reportedly arrived on April 12 bringing the 18th and part of the 56th Japanese Divisions. British efforts to stabilize positions in the Prome area were defeated by aggressive infiltration and encirclement by the Japanese, aided by disaffected Burmese elements. The 33rd Japanese Division drove the British back through Prome and Magwe, where headquarters had been established on the 5th, to the oil fields by the end of the period. The rate of the Japanese advance was about 7 miles per day. A detachment of Royal Marines manned vessels on the Irrawaddy.

and caused heavy casualties among Burmese irregulars who attempted to move up by boats.

Demolitions of the Yenangyaung oil fields were ordered on the 14th and were carried out with great thoroughness by members of the oil companies staffs aided by a demolition expert, Mr. W. L. Foster. The loss of the oil supply of the Burma fields was a serious blow to the Allies. By the 15th of April heavy fighting was in progress along the middle Irrawaddy. Losses from heat exhaustion, enemy action, and shortage of water in the midst of the hottest weather in the dry zone were severe. On the 15th the enemy reached the Yinchauung.

A new Japanese thrust developed to the east of Toungoo along the Mawchi-Bawlake-Loikaw road. These operations were conducted by newly arrived units aided by motorized and armored elements. On April 3, Mandalay was subjected to a severe air raid resulting in more than 2,000 dead and virtual destruction of the city by fire, except for the area within the moat of the old palace of the Burmese Kings. The scale of Japanese air support for their ground troops increased considerably. Allied airfields in upper Burma were practically destroyed, and Akyab had a heavy raid. The only bright spot in the picture was the movement toward Burma of the Chinese 66th Army.

April 16-30, 1942. Heavy Japanese reinforcements continued to arrive in Rangoon, affording their command new opportunities for aggressive action. A total of four Japanese divisions was now considered to be in Burma, outnumbering the Allied effectives by perhaps three to one. By the 19th the British forces withdrew from Yenangyaung where they had been partially encircled by the rapid advance of a force of 2,000 Japanese from the Yinchauung on the 15th. Chinese forces sent across from Pyinmana had assisted in breaking the road block. There was much confused fighting in the oil fields area, with several cases of Japanese units being mistaken for Chinese and vice versa. The despatch of Chinese reserves to the Irrawaddy resulted in a general lack of depth in defense along the entire Allied line.

A decisive action occurred April 18-19 in the vicinity of Loikaw in Karenni. As a result of a sharp engagement the 55th Chinese Division withdrew northward. Thus were uncovered the vital routes leading north to Loilem and Lashio. Japanese motorized elements advanced through the States as rapidly as road and transport facilities permitted. On the 20th they were in

Taunggyi (it was later recaptured and held for a few days by the Chinese) and on the 29th were reported in Lashio. The Chinese forces were split and the Burma Road was cut at several places. Meantime, things, were going badly in the upper Sittang Valley. The Chinese withdrew from Pyawbwe on the 24th. The 7th Armored Brigade and some British and Gurkha elements of the 17th Indian Division were moved across from the Irrawaddy to bolster the Chinese positions near Meiktila and to cover the crossings of the Myitnge and the Ava Bridge. On the 28th these British units fought successful rear guard actions near Meiktila and Kyaukse where they killed 650 Japanese for a loss of three tanks and ten soldiers killed or wounded.

The primary objective of the Allied commanders, who met in Shwebo on the 28th, now seemed to be to extricate their forces and retire on China and India respectively. It was decided to take the Chinese V Army to China via Katha and Bhamo, but due to the rapid Japanese advance from Lashio to Myitkyina across the Bhamo line, most of these Chinese troops eventually found their way to India by way of the Hukawng Valley or Fort Hertz. Two spans of the great Ava bridge, the only bridge across the Irrawaddy, were destroyed on April 30 after passage of the British armor and motor transport.

May 1-15, 1942. Japanese penetration up the Chindwin brought them to Monywa on May 1, where they threatened to cut the line of retreat of the Allied forces still in the Shwebo-Yeu area. The enemy drove into Yunnan and north into Bhamo and Myitkyina, which was occupied on the 7th. The effect of these rapid advances was to cut all likely supply lines between India and China. In addition, the Japanese captured all Allied bases, with extensive supplies, in upper Burma and along the Burma Road to the Salween. In the Mandalay-Sagaing area the remainder of the British and Indian elements withdrew north and then west across country toward Kalewa in order to escape to India along the only possible land route to India. A hospital train full of sick and wounded made an epic journey from Maymyo through Mandalay to Myitkyina. Some 2300 British, Indian and Gurkha sick and wounded troops were evacuated over the rough track from Yeu to Shweygyin, opposite Kalewa. The 2 Burma Brigade marched from Pakokku to the Myittha valley through Pauk, a center of Thakin activity, a distance of 216 miles in 14 days. Chinese units in the Mandalay area moved

north along the Myitkyina railway hoping to reach China or India before they were encircled.

Japanese attempts to intercept the British forces at the Shweygyin ferry to Kalewa failed. The enemy came up to the east bank of the Chindwin in some force on the 10th, but his attack on Shweygyin was repulsed. In this action the losses were approximately 200 on each side. Organized fighting by large units came to an end during the first half of May. The defenders were dispersed and broken up into small groups fighting sporadically and living off the country. The pursuing forces likewise organized small raiding parties in an effort to mop up the little resistance which remained.

The final meeting in Burma between General Stilwell and General Alexander took place at Yeu on the afternoon of May 1st. Thereafter, the British retired on India via Kalewa whereas General Stilwell went north to Imphal via Indaw, Homalin, and Ukhrul. His party left the railway at Indaw on May 5, and reached Imphal on May 20th. Meantime, Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, Governor of Burma, moved north to Myitkyina where he remained until flown out on May 4, with the enemy a short distance away. Akyab was heavily bombed on March 23 and 24, and again on May 3rd, and the port was abandoned to the Japanese on May 4th.

May 16-30, 1942. During the last two weeks of May sporadic fighting continued in Northern Burma. The Japanese reportedly sent a small patrol to the vicinity of Fort Hertz, but later withdrew south of Sumprabum, on the road to Myitkyina. In Yunnan, the front stabilized generally along the Salween River. In Kengtung, elements of the Chinese VI Army, which had taken little part in the fighting, resisted Japanese advances from the west and from the south. It was reported that two Siamese divisions were operating with the Japanese around Kengtung, having entered that area from Chiengrai. In the west, the Japanese continued active patrolling in the Kalewa region. Here their operations consisted chiefly of patrols by small craft along the Chindwin. The British withdrew from the Mawlaik-Sittaung-Homalin area of the Chindwin before the end of May. They retired to Imphal in Manipur where they were covered by fresh British and Indian troops from Calcutta. Some elements withdrew into the Chin Hills Battalion and for about a year thereafter the Chin Hills remained under British control. On

May 20, India assumed command of all Burma Army troops, and General Alexander's command ceased to exist. The Chinese troops that reached India were put into training camps.

At the end of May about half of the Japanese forces in Burma were concentrated against Yunnan. Their disposition during the 1942 monsoon season was as follows: the 55th and 56th Divisions in Lashio and along the Burma Road to the Salween including Bhamo-Myitkyina; the 33rd Division in the Pakokku-Chindwin area with detachments in Akyab; the 18 Division in the Kengtung-Muongsing region; and possibly elements of another division in Rangoon. The 18th Division was moved later to Myitkyina, and the 55th to Arakan. At the end of the year the total enemy strength in Burma was believed to be not more than 80,000 men.

The presence of refugees, principally Indians, constituted a serious military problem during the campaign. Eventually a total of about 400,000 people were evacuated, under responsibility of the civil government. Of these about 10,000 died en route, i.e. $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. These were in addition to the deaths from cholera in Mandalay. This is in many respects a remarkable record considering the mountainous terrain, malarious and without roads, and the fact that the hordes of refugees included women, children, and the aged and infirm.

CONCLUSION

During and shortly after the campaign much was written about its faults. From the Japanese point of view, the campaign was remarkably successful. In five months they overran a country larger than France. From the Allied point of view it is a grim record of continual withdrawals away from their bases, loss of air power, difficulties of supply and administration, and lack of complete cooperation among the Allies. Politically, the attitude of most of the people of Burma was one of virtual indifference. Not more than 4,000 Burmese actually cooperated voluntarily with the Japanese during the campaign. This amounted to about 3 per 10,000 of the Burmese race, perhaps no worse than the record for Nazi-occupied countries of Europe. Other Burmans, motivated principally by the prospects of loot in the general confusion, joined in the show. At one time the Burman Independence Army was not fully trusted by the Japanese, and not more than 20 per cent of them were armed.

Likewise, the civil government of Burma has been the target for much criticism, usually by journalists with no experience in Burma before the war. The critics seldom remained long in Burma, and probably have no intention of returning to the country with their ready solutions. The fact is that no country is ever ready for a sudden invasion such as the Japanese achieved with equal success in all countries of South East Asia and the adjacent islands. Nor is the sudden overthrow of representative government by martial law the key to successful defence of a country like Burma, as some journalists would have us believe. In fact the Governor of Burma is a graduate of Sandhurst and has a sound military background which includes active service with the Indian Army. He is thus acquainted with military problems, and there is no record of serious differences of opinion between him and the military commanders during the campaign. Nor was the Governor an autocrat; Burma was in fact governed by a legislature with responsible, elected Burmese Ministers with very extensive powers. The Governor has spoken warmly of the support given by the Ministers and has expressed the opinion that the fact that there was no organized revolt in the Tharrawaddy District (center of the 1931 rebellion) or in the Shwebo District (home of the last Burmese Kings) was due to the loyalty of the Burmese Ministers. The key to the Allied defeat in Burma is military, not political as has been assumed; The United Nations were either unable or unwilling to supply the military force necessary to stop the Japanese invaders. All other explanations are secondary.

CHAPTER XVII

BURMA UNDER JAPANESE OCCUPATION

Information with respect to Burma under Japanese occupation is scanty and none too reliable. A few Burmese, Indians, and Chinese have made their way from Burma to India or China since the Japanese moved into pagoda land. Fewer prisoners of war, mostly Indians, have escaped; an occasional Burmese newspaper has reached India by the underground. But our best source of information on Burma are the Japanese themselves, who oblige by telling us a great many significant things over the wireless.

From all these unofficial sources one can piece together a fair picture of what life in Burma is like under the Nipponese. Quite frequently a newspaper or a wireless broadcast will yield an unexpected bit of information, frequently spiced by the Burman's persistent good humor. For example, a Burmese newspaper account of the offensive against India in early 1944 said that the march on Delhi had begun: "Of course this may take a year or perhaps a little longer." The net impression gained from these various sources is that between Allied bombings and Japanese extortion, the Burmese cultivator and resident of the towns is having anything but a happy time. His foremost desire is to live unmolested in mild comfort with a market for his produce, safety for his property, and respect for his religion and customs. This laudable desire is not being achieved, and he finds it difficult to realize that hundreds of millions of other plain people in Russia, China, Britain, America, Oceania, and occupied Europe are also going through their own valley of sorrow. In some cases this is much more cruel than the lot of the Burman. Japanese occupation meant a complete change from the conditions to which the Burman had become accustomed, truly a "knit pyet" — the end of an era, the breaking-up of the established order.

POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION

As I have explained in the section on politics, the first political reaction to the Japanese occupation of Burma was the coalescence and fusion of the various Burmese political parties on the question of independence. The Japanese scored a notable propaganda victory in granting nominal "independence," and this propaganda line was the standard and effective bait held out by General Iida as a reward for Burmese cooperation. But the honeymoon was shortlived. The Japanese soon realized that the Burmese sense of nationalism and desire for real independence were so strong that "independence" must be played down and the more ardent nationalists must be shunted into relatively unimportant posts. But this could not be done with Dr. Ba Maw who had been played up to the world as the great Burmese leader.

Thakin elements early displayed signs of being untractable, and the party as such was dissolved. Likewise the Burma Independence Army, which early set up its own administration, was forbidden to continue in this role and later was abolished entirely, or reorganized into the Burma Defense Army. At the same time the Thakins became most unpopular among the Burmese because of their violence.

Japanese authorities in Burma began a policy of conciliating the Burmese and took various steps in this direction. A Central Administrative Committee (known also as the Free Burma Administrative Committee) was established within three months after the occupation of Rangoon, under the chairmanship of Ba Maw who had been released from detention in Mogok. On 1st August, 1942 this was replaced by the Burmese Executive Administration, with Dr. Ba Maw as Chief Administrator. Some success attended Ba Maw's efforts to recall former government officials to their posts.

Japanese advisors continued to be in effective control of the administration on all levels. The higher Burmese officials had to take an oath of allegiance to the Japanese authorities in Burma, and Japan controlled the budget, defense and reconstruction and other subjects relating to the war and their exploitation of Burma. Ba Maw promoted a "Trust Nippon" movement and promised complete cooperation in the Greater East Asia war.

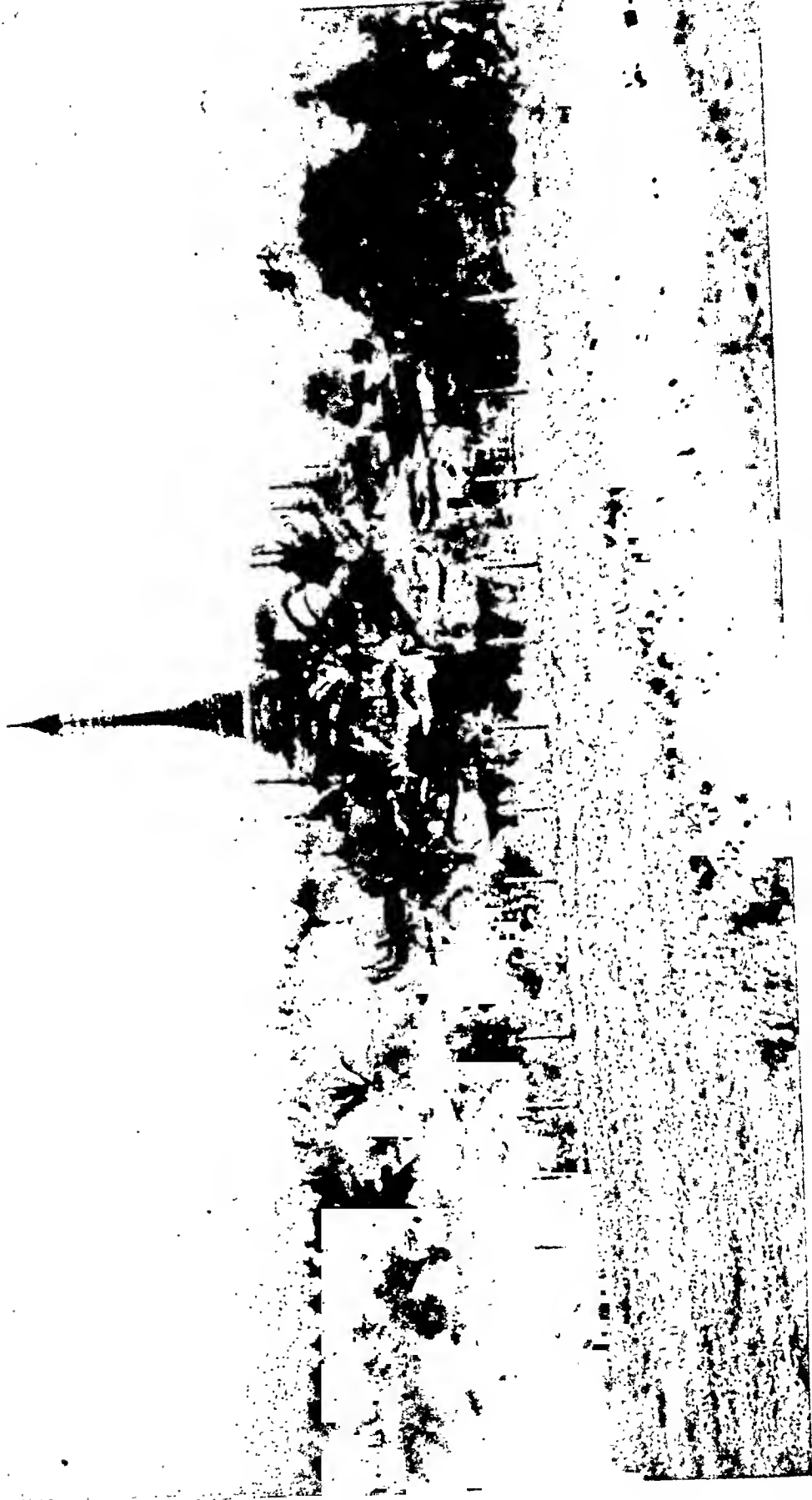
Meantime Tokyo had been thinking about its new conquests. On 28 January, 1943, Premier Tojo on the Japanese radio

announced Japan's intention to establish Burma as an independent state. The first step in implementing General Tojo's declaration was taken by a visit of Dr. Ba Maw, Major-General Thakin Aung San, Dr. Thein Maung and Thakin Mya to Tokyo. They left Rangoon on March 11 by plane. On May 8, 1943, shortly after their return to Rangoon, the Burma Independence Preparatory Committee of twenty-two members was established. In July Ba Maw visited General Tojo in Singapore for further discussion. On July 20, Renzo Sawada, former Japanese Ambassador to France, was appointed Special Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to Burma.

Burma's independence was proclaimed at Rangoon in an impressive ceremony on August 1, 1943. At the same time Burma declared war on Great Britain and the United States, while Dr. Ba Maw was proclaimed as the *Naing-ngan-daw Adipadi* Head of the State. General Kawabe replaced General Iida as Japanese C-in-C. and announced that the Japanese Military Administration had ceased to exist.

During the following six weeks, notice of Burma's declaration of independence was sent to neutral and Axis countries and the following formally recognized Burma as independent: Japan, Germany, Nanking, Manchukuo, Bulgaria, Thailand, Croatia, Slovakia. Some congratulatory messages allegedly were sent by Argentine, Spain, and Sweden, although Argentine denied formal recognition. Renzo Sawada became the first Japanese Ambassador to Burma, and Dr. Thein Maung (formerly Finance Minister) was appointed to similar rank in Tokyo. Burma did not exchange diplomatic representatives with European countries, but U Ba Lwin was appointed to Thailand, Takin Tun Ok to Nanking, and Thakin Ba Sein to Manchukuo. Dr. Thein Maung was said to be living very pleasantly, with ample time for golf, in a suburb of Tokyo. It is hard to believe that Ba Sein, should he reach Shenyang, would be, having no fun or doing much for his country in Manchukuo, and he would some day be faced with an awkward problem in getting back to Burma.

On the day of the Rangoon independence ceremony a new Basic Law of 64 sections was adopted for Burma. Under the law, unprecedented powers were granted to the Head of the State. In addition to his power as "Supreme Commander in Chief of the Burma Armed Forces", Dr. Ba Maw has fortified



The Mongnai Pagoda at Sunset in the Shan State.



Remains of barracks in the Valley, Burma destroyed by the Japanese. (Photo by John L. Christian).

his position by the following provision of the Basic Law: "Burma shall be ruled over by the Head of the State who shall have full sovereign status and power." The Adipadi is referred to by certain titles formerly reserved for royalty in Burma, and his pretensions and dictatorial powers are much resented by many in Burma. The Japanese have made no attempt to restore the Alaungpaya dynasty in Burma, although there is undoubtedly some lingering royalist sentiment in Upper Burma, especially in Sagaing the Shwebo where U Saw restored Alaungpaya's tomb in 1940 and from which Ba Maw removed "aung myay" — victory ground — to the Royal Lakes, Rangoon. Two Burmese Princes are known to have volunteered their services to Ba Maw in 1943. Ba Maw's popularity declined perceptibly in 1943-44. He has a Herman Gocring fondness for bright clothes and multiplicity of uniforms. The Japanese presented him with a personal airplane, and he is generally regarded as a puppet by his own people.

A national flag of yellow (for religion), green (for agriculture), and red (for purity and strength), with a peacock-in-its-pride medallion was adopted. Fortified with a treaty of alliance with Japan, with its own army, currency and stamp issues, with a national anthem, and with a thumping deficit in the budget Burma had most of the appurtenances of a modern state at war. Burma began its existence as a puppet state with much the same territory that had been under the Burmese legislature, but excluding Arakan. On 25 September 1943 Japan by treaty gave the Shan States, Karenni, and the Wa States to Burma. Excepted were the Shan States of Kengtung and Mong Pan, which had been presented to Siam on July 4, 1943. In fact, Burma and Siam occupy much the same position of rival puppets of a common master as do Rumania and Hungary in Europe.

Not much is known of the actual internal administration of Burma. There has been some reorganization of district boundaries. In some broadcasts the term "prefecture" has been used, in the Japanese manner. A Public Service Commission has been reconstituted under control of Dr. Ba Maw's brother, with the Adipadi's nephew as executive secretary. This commission appears to have complete power of appointment, transfer, promotion, and removal of all government officials. This insures the dictator effective control over everything governmental in Burma, that is in those matters which the Japanese have . . .

over to the Burmese.

Dr. Ba Maw's new government got under way with a complement of fifteen cabinet Ministers and a Privy Council of twenty elders with advisory powers. A legislature has been promised as a measure of representation for the minorities, but its coming into being is entirely dependent upon the will of the Head of the State and nothing more has been heard of it. It is perhaps significant that the last chapter of the Basic Law is devoted to the Legislature. Included in the cabinet and Privy Council were four Knights, 6 ex-Senators, 5 ex-Ministers of Cabinet rank, and 17 former members of the House of Representatives. There were, however, many Burmans of equal standing who took no part in the new administration. Dr. Goro Ogawa, the Japanese Supreme Advisor to the Burmese Government, arrived in Rangoon in December, 1943 with instructions to reduce the number of Burmese Ministers.

Financially, the government of Ba Maw had many difficulties. The revenue for the first eight months was estimated at Rs. 42,000,000, with expenditure of Rs. 188,000,000. The deficit of Rs. 146,000,000 was met principally by loans from the Burma National Bank, which had to resort to paper currency. It was explained on the radio that Rs. 73,000,000 was spent on farm loans and rice purchase, leaving a net deficit of Rs. 73,000,000. In the second budget, for the fiscal year beginning April, 1944 revenue was estimated at Rs. 69,000,000, expenditure at Rs. 250,000,000. This left a net deficit of Rs. 180,000,000, which the Burma National Bank again was expected to provide.

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

Japan's greatest victories in Burma were in the spheres of the military commanders and the propaganda artists. Her greatest failures have been in industry and trade. The Burmese had expected a bountiful supply of cheap Japanese textiles, hardware, cement, iron ware, and miscellaneous goods. Actually, the Japanese have had neither the shipping nor an exportable surplus of the many things normally demanded by the Burma bazaar trade. As a result the bazaars of Burma have been practically empty since the Nipponese reached Rangoon. Kerosene, matches, medicines, drugs, industrial chemicals, textiles of all sorts, glass, paper and stationery supplies, hardware and notions, sugar, tinned foods and table delicacies of all sorts, leather goods, and

bags, motor vehicles and a hundred other things that had become part of daily life in British times are almost non-existent. And the Burman doesn't like it.

Likewise, it happens that the very things which comprised the bulk of the pre-war exports of Burma are not in short supply with the Japanese, and therefore find no place on the declining number of Japanese ships. Rice, timber, rubber, tin, hides, and petroleum products are available closer home from Siam, Indo-China, and Dutch Insulinde. Japan could use Burma's cotton, lead, tungsten, and copper, but she is either getting these again from sources closer home, or doing without. As a result there has been a huge decline in trade, internal and external, and consequently in the standard of living. Much of Burma has returned to the barter level, or at the best to the low, but tolerable, standard of say 1880-1900, with the Japanese occupying the extra-territorial immunity then enjoyed by the European.

In the case of rice, the position has declined from an exportable surplus of 3,500,000 tons of rice in 1940 to the point where some students of Burma's economy predict an actual crop shortage within the country in 1944-45, amounting to as much as 1,000,000 tons beyond normal consumption. Although there is wide variations from district to district it appears that on an average there has been a decline of not less than fifty per cent in the acreage under rice. In some areas three-fourths of the paddy fields are uncultivated. This decline has been progressive, and seems likely to continue despite strong efforts to the government to reach a figure of 4,000,000 tons of rice for the military and for demands of the co-prosperity sphere. In 1942-43, for example, it was estimated that there was a paddy deficit of 500,000 tons in Upper Burma as contrasted with a surplus of 1,500,000 tons in Lower Burma. Part of the decline in paddy production was due to Japanese requisition of bullocks for meat and transport, and part to epidemics of cattle diseases such as rinderpest. Because of Burma's abundant food crops it is difficult to believe that there will be actual suffering or famine in any area provided there is not a complete breakdown of internal communication. Northern Burma produces jaggery, cooking oil, cotton, petroleum, cattle, tea, chillies, and miscellaneous products which the villager can always exchange for lower Burma rice—that is so long as Lower Burma produces a surplus and transport is available.

Burmese enterprise is attempting to produce such things as

soap, candles, sugar, rice bags, cement, ironware, chemicals, clothing, and other essentials formerly imported or produced by foreign-owned factories. The average Burman is quite aware that the economic situation is much worse under the Japanese than before the war, and he probably divides the blame between the Japanese invader and allied bombers.

In the case of banking, the Yokohama Specie Bank and the Southern Development Bank appear to dominate the field. Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and the Japan Burma Cotton Company seem to control the larger industrial enterprises, but many smaller Japanese companies have entered shipping, the timber trade, and whatever other business offers a chance for profit. Japanese-sponsored paper currency has declined in value, and the British silver rupee is queen of the black market and the village hoarder. There is a big demand for British silver and gold and for jewels. British Burma currency notes have suffered somewhat from a flood of excellent Japanese counterfeits, but General Wingate's Chindits found they were accepted with pleasure.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Sir George Scott once said, "Every Burman has a birthday once a week." But much of the sweetness and light of Burma has disappeared as a result of the war. The comforts of pre-war Burma, the relative security of person and property, the ease of transportation and communication, and acceptable standards of education and health services have been largely displaced by their opposites. There is undoubtedly much plain misery and disorder. But it must be remembered that some Burmans like disorder, and few of them demand European standards in medical care, education, and promptness in such non-essentials as arrival of the daily mail train. The more venturesome among them think a little corruption now and then is relished by the best of men. In the days of their own kings the government was an autocracy tempered by bribery, and it appears that life under the present regime approximates the good old days.

As an offset to the loss of the pleasant things of western material civilization, the Burman has undoubtedly gained face by the acquisition of even a bogus independence. This will probably compensate the city Burman for loss of consumer goods, absence of a cash market, decline in employment, increase in hardship, the breakdown of railway, bus, steamer, post and telegraph ser-

vices and the reduced comforts and small luxuries of life under Ba Maw and the Japanese. Conversely, the promise (and performance) of the good things of British days, a few allied victories, sound economic plans, and a ready supply of consumer goods, plus a progressive political gesture, will do much to convince the Burman of the hollowness of life under the Japanese.

From the viewpoint of health, there has been a notable decline in the country. Many hospitals and dispensaries have closed down due to shortage of doctors and medicines. Many vaccines and drugs are unobtainable. Epidemics of smallpox and plague have been reported. A virulent type of malaria has been imported, allegedly from Formosa. Venereal diseases have increased. Attempts have been made to train Burmese doctors, nurses, and chemists, but these cannot be produced in a year or two.

In the field of education, conditions are little better. A systematic effort has been made to eradicate the English language. Japanese has been taught as a second language in many schools, and the abandonment of English from primary schools to Rangoon University has been announced. New text books in history and the sciences have been under preparation. Other foreign languages such as French, Siamese, German, and Chinese are being taught, and there is a new emphasis upon the handicrafts and trades, but the quality of instruction and inspection must have declined. Several groups of students have been sent to Japan. Domei told the world that Rangoon University reopened on February 1, 1944 with 217 students, including 30 women, that is less than ten per cent of the pre-war enrollment. It is known that hundreds of schools, lay and monastic, have closed. Although it may be argued that the same trends are equally pronounced in other countries at war, the fact is that the Japanese occupation has made life grim and fruitless for the youth of Burma. It has not improved his opportunities for doing something useful in his own country, and it has virtually isolated him from the remainder of the world. Domei has announced that many relics of the Buddha have been "presented" by Burma to Japan.

Burmans expected that the Japanese, being Buddhists, would be more in harmony with the religious life of Burma than was the Christian foreigner, but this has not been the case. Under the Nipponese, Buddhist temples have been violated and the yellow robe scorned. The European merely ignored Buddhism and let

it go its own way unmolested. The Japanese made expansive gestures of solidarity with Burmese Buddhism and then violated nearly every tenet of the orthodox Hinayana Buddhist. For example, the Emperor contributed Rs. 10,000 to the endowment of the Shwedagon Pagoda, but the effect of this was largely nullified by the Japanese military who literally trample over the holy places of Buddhism throughout the length of Burma.

A plan to build a replica of Rangoon's Botataung Pagoda in Japan has been announced. Rangoon is to have an Azani shrine in imitation of the Japanese model. A census of all pongyis in Burma has been ordered by Aung San who has declared publicly that hereafter there should be only one monk in each monastery. The Burmese seem not to have objected seriously to this plan, as the status of the Buddhist priesthood has been impaired by their participation in politics.

Numerous Burma-Japan cultural associations have been formed. Burmese and Japanese artists have been exchanged, and a Japanese sculptor, by name Nagano, made a statue of Dr. Ba Maw "with his *gaung baung* very beautifully tied." A natural Burmese desire to foster their own culture has at times run counter to the Japanese plan for cultural leadership of the various members of the Greater East Asia sphere.

In general, the attitude of the Burman to the Japanese occupation has been summarized as follows:

"Grievances against the Japanese."

1. Depletion of stocks of food as a result of Japanese troops living on the country.
2. Frequent calls on villagers to supply labor for the Japanese.
3. Failure of the Japanese during their 18 months of occupation to import essential commodities for civilian needs.
4. Requisitioning of supplies and payment at prices well below market rates.
5. Frequent requisitioning of carts and bullocks.
6. Shortage of plough-cattle as a result of indiscriminate requisitioning by the Japanese.

Villagers have brought these grievances to the notice of the Japanese but the only answer received so far is that the Japanese troops were undergoing greater hardships than the villagers. Once a month the Japanese convene a meeting of village head-

men at which they present their requirements for the month. The headmen are asked whether they can meet the demand and as they dare not refuse, the villagers suffer.

Points tending to make the Japanese popular.

1. The belief that the Japanese have granted Burma Independence.
 2. The fact that all officials are Burmese.
 3. The comparative ease with which firearm licenses can now be obtained.
 4. The way the Japanese fraternise with the people.
- There are many thinking Burmans who doubt that the Japanese are sincere about giving them complete independence. The reason for this is that the Burmans cannot understand why the Japanese have sacrificed so many lives to keep the British out of Burma if they intend to give Burma away. Except for those now working for the Japanese, who for obvious reasons fear the return of the British, the majority of Burmans probably would be pleased to see the British back. There are many who still talk of the peaceful and pleasant days under British rule and who blame the Japanese for all the hardships they are undergoing."

COMMUNICATIONS

Japan has two achievements to her credit in the field of railway construction in Burma. One is the linking of the railway systems of Siam and Burma by the completion, in December, 1943, of 245 miles of new line from Bangpong to Thanbyuzayat, on the Moulmein-Ye railway. The second, although not actually within Burma, is the 55 miles of new railway constructed in 1944 across the Kra Isthmus from Chumphorn to a new port on the Siamese side a short distance up the Pakchan river from Victoria Point. A third feat was the rebuilding of the Sittang bridge in February, 1944, although this was knocked out shortly after by Allied bombers. No attempt at reconstruction of the great Ava bridge over the Irrawaddy has been made although it is possible to walk across the fallen spans at low water.

Japanese engineers in Burma have been as busy as beavers in the construction of new roads and airfields. A new road has been built from Bhamo up the valley of the Taping to Tengchung, formerly known as Tengyueh or Momein. Likewise new

dry weather motor roads have been opened in other places in northern and western Burma and in Arakan. Many of these are of local and temporary value whereas others are there to stay and will serve usefully after the war. Allied engineers have been active on their side of the frontier and have completed roads into the Chin Hills, and from Manipur to the Chindwin. These are in addition to the more famous Burma and Ledo roads. The latter constructed by American Army engineers leads to the Mogaung-Myitkyina area over the Pangsau Pass at an elevation of 4200 feet and across the malarious Hukawng Valley. Altogether, the isolation of Burma has been destroyed by the current war.

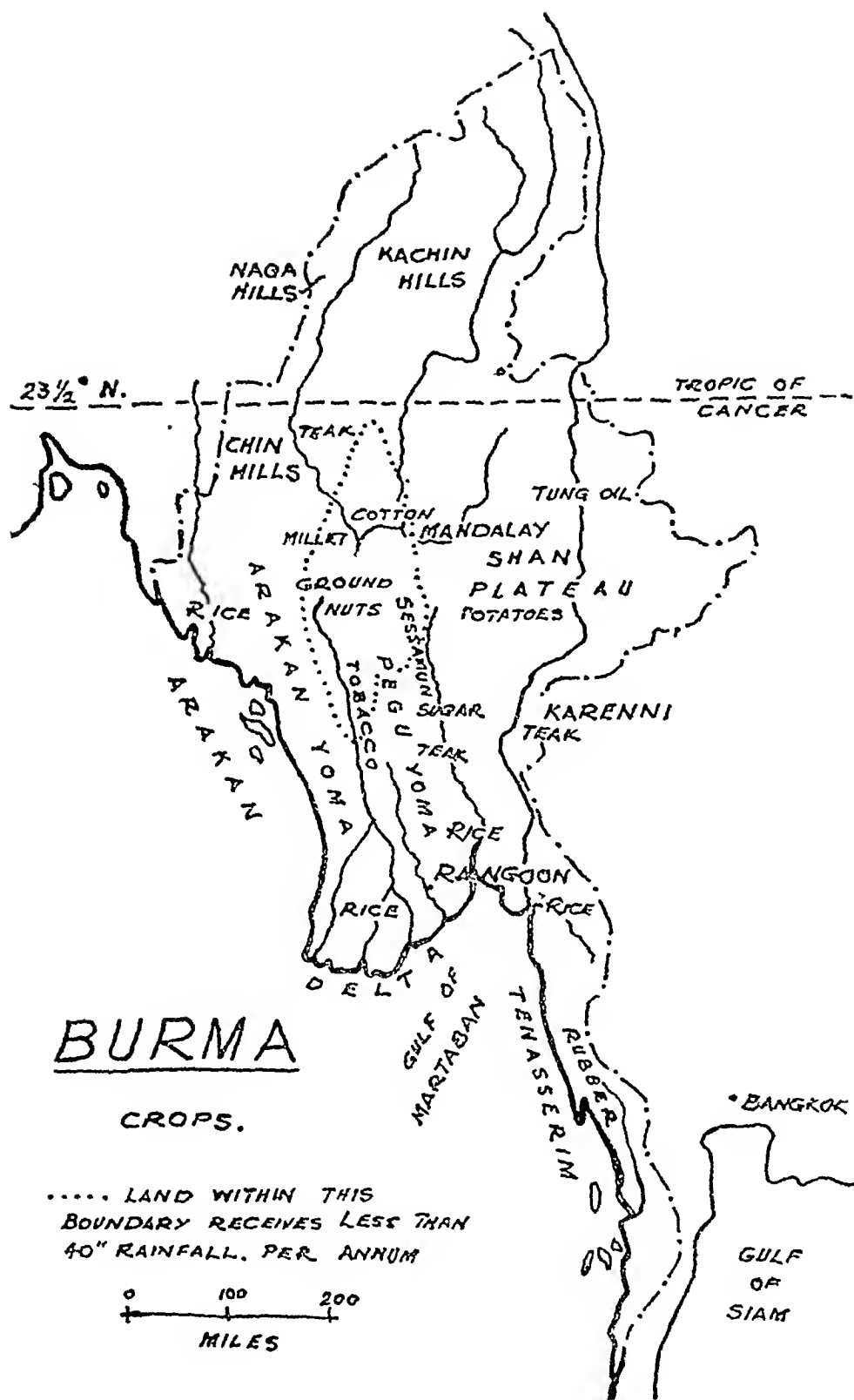
THE ARMY

On the military side, Burma has established what is purported to be a national army. But it is inadequately trained and armed, and it is not trusted by the Japanese who have been careful to keep it under close supervision. A Burman has reported that this Burma Independence Army was formed around a nucleus of "32 brave patriots" who sometime before the outbreak of war crossed the Siamese frontier and were provided with Japanese passports.¹ They were trained in Hama or Formosa and were on hand on the Tennasserim frontier at Pearl Harbor time.

A prime mover in the Burma Independence army was a Colonel Minami, a Japanese officer of obscure background but who was most certainly not the grandson of King Mindon's brother as was represented. Minami was known in Burma as "Bo Mogyo"—the lightning chief. The nominal commander was Thakin Aung San, who seems to have received his commission as a Major-General from the Japanese; at any rate he considered his rank proof against demotion from Dr. Ba Maw.

It is almost impossible to say much with certainty as to the numbers, organization, and equipment of the B.I.A. Estimates as to numbers vary from five to thirty thousand. The army has, on paper at least, the form of a modern army, but its methods, equipment, training, supply, and pay days are likely to be somewhat irregular. It is doubtful if its fighting efficiency is impressive. In fact there are no reports that has appeared in any strength in the combat areas of Burma. There has been some

¹ *The Times*—*What Happened in Burma*, (London) 1944, p. 2.



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friction between it and the Japanese army; for example the B.I.A. reached Akyab ahead of the Japanese, and later were forbidden to enter the Shan States. Eventually, the Burma Independence Army was replaced by the Burma Defence Army, and "Major-General" Aung San was relieved by a Colonel Nay Win as Officer Commanding. Aung San, who was 26 years old when the Japanese invaded Burma, became a sort of "elder statesman" as Minister of War and made at least one trip to Tokyo.

There has been much talk of organizing four civilian "armies" in Burma. This represents a typically fascist regimentation of the population, principally to provide labour and arouse enthusiasm for the war. The "sweat army" has been used on road and railway construction in addition to furnishing manpower for use with the Japanese army as porters.

THE BATTLE FOR BURMA

Allied attempts to expel the Japanese from Burma have been retarded by difficulty of terrain and by problems of supply and organization. After the withdrawal of General Alexander's forces to India in May, 1942 the monsoon settled down over Burma and little was attempted before the dry season October, 1942 — May, 1943. Lines stabilized generally along the India-Burma frontier, with the British holding a bit of Arakan, the Chin Hills, the Somra Tract and the Fort Hertz Valley as far south as Sumprabum. Along the Burma-China frontier, the Japanese advanced to the Sima-Hpimaw passes into China east of Myitkyina, and occupied Tengyueh and western Yunnan to the Salween on both sides of the Burma Road. South of the Kunlong Ferry over the Salween no serious attempt was made to advance from the Shan States or Indo-China into southern Yunnan between the Salween and the Mekong.

Meantime Allied air strength had been built up and air supremacy was secured. This did not, however, prevent the Japanese from making occasional raids over Chittagong, Calcutta, and Assam. In several of these raids their losses were more than half of the attacking force, and they seldom caused appreciable damage.

In mid-December, 1942 British forces in Arakan launched an attack designed to recapture Akyab. The Japanese apparently expected an attack in some force as on 15 December they withdrew from Maungdaw, at the western end of the best trans-

peninsular route to Buthidaung on the Mayu river. British and Indian units then advanced virtually without opposition to Donbaik, on the Arakan coast 15 miles north of Akyab island. A parallel drive advanced along the western bank of the Mayu to Rathedaung. The farthest British advance was reached at Donbaik on 6 January, 1943. To meet the threat to Akyab the Japanese moved their 55th Division from northern Burma to Arakan, by way of Rangoon, Prome, and the Taungup Pass road. Upon its arrival the Japanese executed a skillful enveloping movement up the Mayu and Kaladan valleys. On April 6 the Japanese captured Indin, 15 miles north of Donbaik, and with it a Brigade commander. By the end of May the British had retired to approximately their former positions, which were maintained during the 1943 monsoon.

Meantime, a new star appeared over the Burma horizon. Brigadier Charles Orde Wingate, a veteran of the Abyssinian campaign against the Italians, arrived in India with a new concept of war in the jungle. He proposed operations by Long Range Penetration Groups, living off the country or air supplied. In February 1943 he led a group of "Chindits" in what became known popularly as "Wingate's Phantom Army" or "Wingate's circus" far behind the Japanese lines in Upper Burma. He took his men in from Tamu, crossed the Chindwin and the Mandalay-Myitkyina railway, and penetrated east of the Irrawaddy. They cut the railway in seventy places, destroyed enemy supplies, and generally brought credit to the Allied arms in Burma in their darkest days. His men eventually split into many columns and made their way back to India (a few went out via China) at the beginning of the rains in May.

At the Quebec Conference of August, 1943 considerable attention was given to plans for war against Japan. Internal conditions and the efficiency of the Chinese Army had deteriorated since the occupation of Burma and it was realized that if China were kept in the war against Japan a land route would have to be opened across Burma. General Stilwell had been training and equipping a Chinese army in India, and it was determined that Indian bases and the Indian army should be utilized to the utmost in the defeat of the Japanese and their expulsion from Burma. It had been announced in June, 1943, concurrently with the appointment of Lord Wavell as Viceroy designate and the selection of Sir Claude Auchinleck as C-in-C

mander-in-Chief, India, that a separate Southeast Asia Command would be formed for the employment of the Indian Army on the eastern front. At Quebec the appointment of Admiral the Lord Louis Mountbatten as Supreme Allied Commander, Southeast Asia Command, was announced. On October 8, 1943 Admiral Mountbatten reached New Delhi, and shortly thereafter the selection of Lt. General Sir Henry Pownall as Chief of Staff and Major General Albert C. Wedemeyer U.S.A. as Deputy Chief of Staff was revealed. Admiral Mountbatten assumed command on November 15, after a visit to Chungking for military and political discussions. Lt. General Joseph W. Stilwell became Deputy Supreme Allied Commander.

By November, 1943 General Stilwell's Chinese Army in India had arrived in upper Assam from their training base and began their move from Ledo for protection of the road under construction over the Pangsau Pass and across the Hukawng Valley toward the Myitkyina area. They advanced across the Patkai range, on the India-Burma frontier, to Shingbwiyang which was occupied at the end of November.

At the end of 1943 the enemy became aware of the increasing importance of India and Burma in the Allied plans. Elaborate defences were prepared along the western coasts of Burma from Akyab to Ramree Island, and before long the entire western coast was garrisoned against an expected seaborne invasion. Meantime the strength of the Japanese Army in Burma was increased to six divisions and a considerable strengthening of their air force was noted in the area. Light Japanese forces advanced into the Chin Hills in November 1943 and occupied Falam, Haka, and Fort White in their first penetration of this district. New road and rail communications from Siam to Burma were put under rapid development in order to build up stocks of supplies and move in additional troops.

Another British advance into Arakan got under way in the dry season 1943-44. This time the enemy defended Maungdaw and contested the Maungdaw-Buthedaung road until dislodged by tanks. On February 4, 1944 the Japanese suddenly made a bold attempt to encircle and destroy the British forces on the Mayu peninsula. With part of their force under the same Colonel who led them in the 1943 success in the same area, the Japanese struck at the British communications between Maungdaw and Chittagong. This time the British-Indian divisions stood firm although

surrounded for seventeen days. During this time they were supplied by air, and in the end the Imperial Forces inflicted a severe defeat upon the Japanese when communications were restored at the end of February. The tunnels on the abandoned railway line were occupied on 28 March after bitter fighting. During February, March, and April nearly 5000 Japanese were killed in Arakan by the ground forces.

January, 1944 saw General Stilwell's Chinese forces advancing into the heart of the Hukawng Valley, building and guarding the "Ledo Road" as they moved along. It was announced that a column of American infantry, under direct command of Brigadier General Frank D. Merrill was serving in Stilwell's command. They were reported to be the first American troops in combat in Asia since the Boxer Rebellion. Stilwell's Chinese-American troops crossed the headwaters of the Chindwin and captured Maingkwan on 5 March. General Merrill's "Galahad Force," was composed of American volunteers and operated under the overall command of General Stilwell. They left Ledo on February 8 and marched a total of 700 miles in the Hukawng valley and the mountains between it and the Mali Hka. They were equipped with mules and all supplies were dropped by air. Their great service was in "spearheading" well forward of the Chinese forces moving southward toward Mogaung. In a series of short hooks they established a number of road blocks behind the 18th Japanese division. These blocks, combined with Chinese pressure, forced the enemy to withdraw with heavy losses. At the end of April this column began its most ambitious undertaking, the capture of Myitkyina airfield. By a wide encircling movement, during which there were several sharp engagements with Japanese troops, the force crossed the Kumon Range by a 6100-foot pass and secured tactical surprise in capturing the Myitkyina airfield on 17 May. Their final advance into the Myitkyina area was unobserved by the enemy. Japanese resistance in the town of Myitkyina continued until August 1. On the 20th March a Burma battalion, aided by Kachin levies, occupied Sumprabum, 135 miles north of Myitkyina. Shadong village, situated on the road leading through the southern end from the Hukawng valley, was occupied by Stilwell's Chinese on 24 March. They pushed on at once toward Kanching, a town of stronger Japanese resistance. This town held out until 16 June. In support of the push in the Hukawng valley, the Chinese

forces in Yunnan began an offensive in the difficult country west of the Salween.

In the vast area between the Hukawng valley and the Arakan, two important operations were proceeding simultaneously with each other and with Stilwell's advance. The first was a Japanese advance by three divisions against the Manipur plain; the second, General Wingate's 1944 airborne operations against Japanese lines of communications in the upper Irrawaddy valley. These movements began at about the same time. On March 9 the Japanese took the offensive in the Chin Hills and the Kabaw valley, and on March 10-11 Wingate's gliders and planes, many of which were American, completed concentration of the 3rd Indian Division near the great bend of the Irrawaddy between Katha and Bhamo. Allied aircraft had prepared the way for the landings by heavy attacks on the Japanese air force. On 4 March 46 planes were destroyed on the Shwebo fields; a total of 130 Japanese planes were destroyed in March, most of them at Shwebo, Meiktila, and Anisakan. The British and Japanese offensive carried on regardless of each other. Wingate's forces established four emergency landing fields in the area, and flew in more than 10,000 men, with the necessary artillery, mules, jeeps, anti-aircraft guns, bulldozers, and engineer stores. Considering the difficult nature of the country it was an airborne operation unparalleled in the history of war. One of Wingate's brigades marched in south of the Ledo Road. Road and rail blocks were established near Mawlu and Hopin on the railway between Indaw and Mogaung, and one brigade advanced to Mogaung where on 9 June it captured huge quantities of stores belonging to the Japanese 18th Division and blocked the escape of that force while the Chinese were advancing from Kamaing. Another Wingate column cut the Bhamo-Myitkyina road. General Wingate was killed in an air crash on March 24, and command passed to Major General Lentaigne. His division came under General Stilwell's command shortly thereafter. Mogaung was fully occupied by joint British Chinese action on 26 June, and the clearing of the Kamaing road was completed on July 10th. Fighting in the area continued well into July despite appalling conditions of rain and flooding. The Japanese had been pushed back to the Burma railways, and in Mogaung and Myitkyina the allies for the first time in the Burma war secured objectives which in themselves were worth having.

Accompanied by the greatest Japanese propaganda barrage since Pearl Harbor, enemy forces began a three pronged attack on Manipur. This had as its objective the capture of the Imphal plain, the only flat country between the Hukawng valley and the Bay of Bengal. The plan envisaged the cutting of the Assam railway and possibly an advance to the Brahmaputra. During the first two weeks of March Japanese preparations for the drive had been observed in the Chin Hills, the Kheh valley, and along the Chindwin from Mawlaik to Homalin and Tamanthi. The Japanese radio announced that their army crossed the Chindwin on March 15, 1944. Enemy broadcasts appeared to have been written in advance of the events because they announced that six British divisions had been destroyed. By the middle of April the Japanese announced that they were "making a surging drive towards the town of Imphal" and that they had "reduced Kohima and were now exerting heavy pressure on the Bengal-Assam railway."

In their initial stages the advances by the 33rd Division along the Tiddim Road, of the 15th Division toward Palel and Ukhrul and of the 31st Division toward Kohima were brilliantly executed. By March 22 the Tiddim road was cut, thus isolating most of the 17th Indian Division which was forced to fight its way out to Imphal. Soon thereafter the Manipur Road was firmly blocked on both sides of Kohima. The Kohima-Imphal road remained blocked for 85 days during which the Imphal forces were cut off except for air supply. But with characteristic optimism the Japanese had underestimated their enemy's supply problem. As the monsoon advanced their difficulties increased. Although the Japanese were able to move down the Tiddim road their artillery and one tank regiment down the Tiddim road to Bishennur west of Imphal town, they were unable to get their tanks and artillery from the Chindwin into the Kohima area. Here the British tanks and artillery with excellent effect upon the Japanese enemy.

On June 22 the road was reopened from Kohima. Accurate information on the number of Japanese casualties in the Manipur campaign is difficult to secure, but by the beginning of July the total number of killed was estimated to be more than 15,000. It has been estimated that from February 1944 on all Burma fronts the enemy lost 20,000 men. These favours were divided into three parts: 10,000 for the Japanese

Imphal, and Hukawng fronts, with most of the remainder falling to the Wingate forces. Their total losses in dead on all Burma fronts, including Manipur and western Yunnan, were probably some 35,000-45,000 during the first half of 1944. By the beginning of July the three divisions in Manipur had lost not less than 60 percent of their strength and with it their offensive capabilities. By mid-August the Japanese were out of India in defeat.

Japan had a total of nine Divisions in Burma in July, 1944. Five of these (three in Imphal, one in Arakan, and one in Mogaung — Myitkyina) have taken extremely heavy losses and despite reinforcements must be badly disorganized and suffering severely from losses of men and equipment. Japan had diverted to Burma resources that were badly needed in the Southwest Pacific.

June 10, 1944 may well go down in history as the high water mark in Japan's conquests in southern Asia. On that date the shattered 31st Division began its retreat from Kohima, and it is unlikely that they will ever again penetrate as far into India. The Siamese proverb comes to mind — "When the floods arise the fish eat ants; when the floods recede the ants eat fish." The flood has begun to recede.

APPENDIX I

OFFICIAL STATEMENTS ON SEPARATION OF BURMA FROM INDIA

A. EXCERPT FROM A REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE BURMA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, 1920¹

We hold that the first step towards the attainment of full responsible government in Burma is the separation of Burma from the rest of British India. We have already indicated our reasons for holding this opinion in our provisional report and we do not intend to traverse the same ground again. We would, however, add that Burma's political connection with India is wholly arbitrary and unnatural. It was established by the British rulers of India by force of arms and is being maintained for the sake of administrative convenience. It is not an association of two peoples having natural affinities tending towards union. It is neither a combination of two willing partners. In all essential features of corporate life Burma widely differs from India. There is nothing in common between the two peoples except their common allegiance to His Majesty the King-Emperor which need not necessarily place one of them under the political tutelage of the other.

Besides, Burma's political subservience to India has seriously prejudiced her financial and economic interests and even threatened to nationalise her.

Financially, Burma's connection with India has inevitably placed her within the orbit of the Weston Settlement, with the result that she has to surrender about 50 per cent of her revenues, i.e., those collected by the "Central" heads, to the Government of India and it has not the income which is hardly sufficient to meet her increasing needs.

It will thus be seen that Burma's political connection with India cannot be justified on any grounds that could be advanced for it. We, therefore, strongly and unequivocally recommend that Burma be immediately separated from British India.

We desire that Burma, separated from India, should be placed in direct relationship with the Home Government, the Secretary of State for India, Burma and the Home Office, and that the Government of India should be relieved of all responsibility for her administration.

severance of her connection with the India Office, would mean the re-shuffling of the machinery of administration at various points and a disturbance of long existing arrangements which are not desirable. The Secretary of State for India should, of course, be styled the Secretary of State for India and Burma, and he should have a separate Council to deal with Burma affairs.

B. EXCERPTS FROM REPORT OF THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION
(THE SIMON COMMISSION), VOL. II, PART I

Separation of Burma

26. There is, however, one province, to-day an integral part of British India, which should, we think, be definitely excluded from the new polity, and that is Burma. As the Montague-Chelmsford Report pointed out, "Burma is not India." Its inclusion in India is an historical accident. We think that, when an endeavor is being made to lay down the broad lines of advance towards an ultimate goal, the opportunity should be taken to break a union which does not rest on common interests. We develop our reasons for this in Part VI, where we also make some remarks upon the future constitution of Burma.

Separation Should Take Place Now

224. On a broad view, the question to be answered is not whether separation should or should not be effected, but whether it should take place now or at some future time. We base our recommendation that separation should be effected forthwith on the practical ground that no advantage seems likely to accrue from postponement of a decision to a future date. The constitutional difficulties of securing Burman participation in the Central Government of India are not prospective but actual. They will grow with every advance in the Indian constitution and will prejudicially affect not Burma only but India itself. We believe, moreover that a decision to postpone separation would be so unpopular in Burma as to endanger the working of any reforms which might be given to her as a province of India. A decision to separate her from India immediately would on the other hand, we consider, produce an atmosphere in Burma favourable to the satisfactory settlement of the many problems to which separation will give rise. In view of the changes we are proposing in the system of government for the rest of India, we are satisfied that the separation of Burma can be more fittingly carried out now than at a later stage.

We advise, therefore, that Burma should be separated from India immediately; and we think that there are strong reasons why a declaration to this effect should be made as early as possible. Burma will not regard it as satisfactory to her self-respect if she is left in possession of her present constitution for an appreciable time after further reforms have

been introduced in the other provinces. The principal reason why we suggest an early declaration is in order that the necessary further enquiries may be made in time for Burma to receive a new constitution as nearly as may be at the same time as the new Government of India Act comes into operation.

APPENDIX II

ANTI-SEPARATIONIST PAMPHLET

Below is a rough translation of a handbill distributed broadcast in certain districts of Upper Burma on the eve of the election.

What will happen if Burma is separated now from India? If Burma is made a Crown Colony, who will take the responsibility? Because the Shan States have been separated from Burma, there are in Kalaw in Southern Shan States taxes which are not levied in Burma such as tax on dogs. Buffaloes are not allowed within the town limits of Kalaw. Fines are imposed if they are so found. The inhabitants of Kalaw town have to pay a tax of Rs. 1/8 on each dog they keep. Some people who cannot afford to pay this tax have to treat their dogs indifferently although they have much pity on them. The imposition of these taxes which are not levied in Burma has begun in Kalaw, Southern Shan States, and will spread over the whole of the Shan States in future. There is no doubt about this. The reason why more taxes are levied in the Shan States than in Burma is simply because the Shan States are separated from Burma. If Burma were to be separated now from India, more taxes will be levied in Burma in the same way as more taxes are levied in the Shan States because they are separated from Burma. There is no doubt that the people of Burma will become poorer every day and that they will be reduced to the position of slaves.

Shin Pannawa, Kalaw, S.S.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT OF A CROWN COLONY

1. No legislative Council. The Governor governs just as he pleases.
2. Excepting Christians, if the followers of other faiths are required to remove their foot and head gear, the followers of the religion of the country will have to do so for them.
3. Only Christians should get high appointments in the world.
4. There shall be Christian Missionary schools and Police Stations in every village and quarter.
5. Christian ministers shall preach every day, except on Saturday and Sundays, at every street.
6. Christian ministers shall travel second class on steamers and trains at half rates.
7. Christian ministers who are converted from other faiths shall be given higher rates of pay.

8. There shall be metalled roads in every town and villages in Crown Colonies.
9. Tolls shall be levied from all such metalled roads.
10. In every house there shall be lavatory and every lavatory shall be inspected by a government servant three times a day and taxes shall be levied for each lavatory.
11. In every Crown Colony, traders from other countries shall trade only if permitted by the Government of that Colony.
12. Government have the monopoly of trade in paddy and rice.
13. Food stuffs shall conform to the Health Department rules.
14. Taxes shall be levied if a load of more than 50 pounds is carried on Government metalled roads.
15. Every person coming to a Crown Colony from another country shall have himself vaccinated.
16. You cannot buy paddy more than is enough for 7 days cooking.
17. Persons desirous of selling paddy shall take out license to do so.
18. There shall be no prostitutes in a Crown Colony.
19. The dead shall be disposed of within 24 hours.
20. Meat of animals which died of old age or disease must not be eaten.
21. All marriages shall be registered.
22. Only water supplied by Government must be used.
23. There is suffering now in the Shan States because there are too many taxes. It is not yet time for Burma and India to be separated. Do not separate until you get what you want. Keep Burma joined to India as at present.

U Wilatha,
Hony. Secretary, Sangha' Council
Myingyan Town

Printed at Magawaddy Press, Myingyan.

APPENDIX III

COMMODITY AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF BURMA'S FOREIGN TRADE AND SHIPPING

A. PERCENTAGE SHARES OF THE MAIN GROUPS OF COUNTRIES PARTICIPATING IN BURMA'S EXPORT AND IMPORT TRADE FOR FIVE YEARS UNDER THE OTTAWA TRADE AGREEMENT*

<i>Exports</i>	1933-4	1934-5	1935-6	1936-7	1937-8
I. British Empire:					
India	58	61	58	57	51
United Kingdom	10	11	12	12	14
Other British Empire countries..	14	12	15	16	20
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total, British Empire	82	84	85	85	85
II. Foreign Countries:					
Europe	10	7	7	7	7
Asia	6	6	6	6	5
Africa	} 2	3	2	2	3
America.....					
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total, Foreign countries	18	16	15	15	15
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Imports</i>					
I. British Empire:					
India	52	52	48	50	49
United Kingdom	22	22	23	19	20
Other British Empire countries..	5	5	5	5	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total, British Empire.....	79	79	76	74	74
II. Foreign countries:					
Europe	6	6	7	8	10
Asia	12	12	14	14	11
Africa	} 3	3	3	4	5
America.....					
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total, Foreign countries.....	21	21	24	26	26
Grand Total	100	100	100	100	100

* Sir Thomas M. Ainscough, *Conditions and Prospects of United Kingdom Trade in India* (with a brief account of the Trade of Burma), (London, 1939), 96.

C. COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE VALUES OF PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES IN THE IMPORT TRADE

	Average for 3 Years, 1933-34|		
	1935-36	1936-37	1937-38
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
	(Lakhs)	(Lakhs)	(Lakhs)
From India:			
Cotton, manufactures of	1,89.97	1,85.81	2,34.30
Jute, manufactures of	1,39.29	1,19.60	1,29.12
Tobacco	67.82	77.01	84.61
Metals and ores	34.50	55.64	72.65
Grain, pulse and flour	46.52	46.10	60.80
Cotton twist and yarn	46.63	45.72	56.90
Coal	40.80	37.26	45.35
Provisions	34.90	39.31	39.54
Oils	20.33	35.38	37.65
Fish	36.50	36.19	36.78
Fruits and vegetables	25.59	35.34	34.78
Spices	35.63	33.56	33.03
Seeds	17.94	13.85	22.98
Hardware and cutlery	15.53	17.21	13.77
Coir	8.23	8.10	9.35
Other articles	1,91.33	2,47.16	2,59.26
Total	9,51.51	10,33.74	11,70.57
From other foreign countries:			
Cotton manufactures including twist, etc.....	2,29.43	2,09.46	2,15.88
Machinery and millwork	92.19	1,34.16	1,38.89
Metals and ores	78.59	81.54	1,20.69
Provisions	77.33	92.99	1,02.67
Oils	50.25	87.12	87.99
Hardware, etc.	31.10	33.20	40.24
Instruments, apparatus, appliances, etc.....	20.93	29.03	37.88
Paper and pasteboard	22.90	21.37	33.26
Motor cars, etc.	12.22	16.49	31.07
Liquors	26.06	24.91	29.97
Wool, manufacture of	22.09	22.19	28.64
Apparel, etc.	8.74	25.64	15.38
Buildings, etc.	10.46	9.88	13.69
Salt	9.67	15.52	12.86
Articles (not specified) imported by post.....	11.49	10.83	11.81
Fish, etc.	12.82	13.46	11.47
Earthenware, etc.	8.24	9.32	9.18
Silk	11.29	4.65	7.30
Tobacco	3.75	2.87	3.79
Soap	7.62	1.49	1.71
Sugar	17.91	4.02	1.23
Other articles	1,98.31	2,19.53	2,55.21
Total	9,63.39	10,69.67	12,10.81
Grand Total—Burma's imports from India and other foreign countries	19,14.90	21,03.41	23,81.38

D. DISTRIBUTION OF THE IMPORT TRADE OF BURMA

	Average Value for 3 Years, 1933-34| 1935-36	1936-37	1937-38
	Rs. (Lakhs)	Rs. (Lakhs)	Rs. (Lakhs)
British Empire:			
India	—	1,093.28	1,170.57
United Kingdom	433.90	413.62	479.18
Ceylon	7.69	4.57	7.31
Straights Settlements	50.09	63.13	61.29
Federated Malay States .....	.21	.07	.20
Hongkong	19.54	27.84	27.61
Union of South Africa	3.08	3.01	4.53
Canada	1.82	1.47	1.88
Other British possessions	8.63	12.97	17.70
Total, British Empire	524.96	1,619.96	1,770.27
Foreign countries:			
Europe:			
Germany	40.95	58.32	78.30
Netherlands	21.59	26.94	46.48
Belgium	21.57	38.25	38.18
France	8.13	7.27	10.78
Switzerland	3.73	6.21	6.64
Italy (including Fiume)	12.17	5.49	11.06
Other countries	22.00	30.46	41.42
Total, Europe	130.14	172.94	232.86
Asia :			
Iran	20.19	55.92	46.28
Sumatra .....	.12	2.86	6.33
Java	18.09	4.41	1.53
China, etc.	9.01	6.29	4.83
Japan	199.30	238.98	209.14
Other countries* .....	.68	.51	1.36
Total, Asia	247.39	309.27	269.77
Africa:			
Egypt	2.87	2.35	5.13
Other countries .....	.74	2.15	—
Total, Africa	3.61	4.50	5.13
America:			
U. S. A.	57.28	71.44	103.31
Other countries .....	.01	—	.01
Total, America	57.29	71.44	103.31
Total, Foreign countries	435.43	558.15	711.11
Grand Total, British and Foreign countries	960.39	2,178.11	2,481.38

*Includes "Iraq."

E. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANNUAL SEA-BORNE TRADE OF BURMA BY COUNTRIES

	E. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANNUAL SEA-BORNE TRADE																	
	Exports Including Re-exports								Imports									
	1929 -30	1930 -31	1931 -32	1932 -33	1933 -34	1934 -35	1935 -36	1936 -37*	1937 -38	1929 -30	1930 -31	1931 -32	1932 -33	1933 -34	1934 -35	1935 -36	1936 -37	1937 -38
British Empire:																		
India	43	41	49	58	63	66	63	62	51	41	42	51	47	52	52	48	50	49
								(57)										
United Kingdom	9	9	8	8	9	9	11	11	14	25	24	20	22	22	23	19	20	
								(12)										
Straits Settlements	6	7	6	4	4	4	4	4	6	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
								(5)										
Ceylon	7	7	6	5	4	4	5	5	6									
								(6)										
Other British Empire	4	5	4	4	4	3	4	4	9				2	2	2	2	2	2
								(6)										
Total, British Empire.....	69	69	73	79	84	86	87	86	86	70	71	75	74	79	79	76	74	74
								(85)										
Foreign Countries:																		
Japan	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	4	2	8	9	9	12	10	9	11	11	9
								(5)										
Germany	8	6	5	5	4	3	2	2	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
								(2)										
Netherlands	3	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	2
								(2)										
Belgium	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2
								(1)										
U. S. A.	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5	5	4	3	3	3	3	4	4
Other foreign countries	16	10	15	11	8	7	6	5	5	9	8	7	6	4	5	5	6	6
								(5)										
Total, Foreign countries.	31	31	27	21	16	14	13	14	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
								(15)										

* Exports to India exclude excise duty on mineral oils since April 1, 1937. The comparable figures of 1936-37 are given in brackets below the actual figures.

F. PRINCIPAL EXPORTS AND IMPORTS, 1938—40

Main Exports from Burma (Including Re-exports)*

	<i>Value in Thousands of Rupees</i>	
	1938-39	1939-40
Rice	20,68,70	24,10,22
Paddy	50,02	30,64
Rice bran	1,15,19	63,22
Mineral oils	10,36,29	11,76,65
Teakwood	2,95,96	3,11,13
Teak keys	7,08	7,62
Other hardwood	37,06	31,01
Metals and ores	5,76,45	6,26,33
Paraffin wax	1,66,58	2,47,72
Rubber	59,97	50,26
Raw cotton	75,44	1,12,23
Pulse	71,16	1,15,29
Oilcakes	48,88	30,32
Hides and skins	20,40	25,24
Candles	12,33	12,54
Cutch	10,02	9,44
Tobacco	6,86	6,47
Spices	14,08	5,25
Potatoes	28,32	29,17
Matches	11,78	14,12

Main Imports into Burma

Cotton piece goods	2,91,21	3,79,32
Woolen piece goods	5,87	5,25
Silk piece goods	2,25	4,84
Artificial silk piece goods	3,24	11,19
Cotton thread	11,57	13,54
Cotton twist, yarn	1,00,86	1,23,32
Metals	1,54,39	2,02,95
Minerals oils	47,68	57,48
Coal, coke	73,15	62,69
Machinery (not electrical)	1,09,75	1,35,37
Electrical machinery	45,81	50,49
Vehicles	61,20	63,56
Jute gunny bags	1,33,13	1,50,15
Provisions	1,63,56	1,37,61
Fish	44,41	43,64
Tobacco	88,64	93,68
Liquors	21,60	24,00
Salt	8,68	17,97
Sugar, molasses, candy	18,58	13,80
Spices	41,18	57,43
Chemicals	22,16	2,13
Drugs	18,05	23,15
Paper, cardboard, etc.	36,71	57,11
Boots and shoes	12,47	15,41
Seeds	26,48	24,00
Soaps	16,27	31,27

* *Foreign Trade Journal*, May 1940

G. BURMA'S EXPORTS AND IMPORTS, 1928-38

		(In Lakhs of Rupees)		
	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Balance</i>
1928-29	68,63	39,24	1,07,87	29,39
1929-30	68,86	36,12	1,04,98	32,74
1930-31	54,88	28,38	83,26	26,50
1931-32	44,76	21,25	66,01	23,51
1932-33	46,30	20,29	66,59	26,01
1933-34	46,93	17,88	64,81	29,05
1934-35	50,73	20,44	71,17	30,29
1935-36	54,14	20,83	74,97	33,31
1936-37 *	56,10	21,78	77,88	34,32
	(49,73)		(71,51)	(27,95)
1937-38	50,42	23,80	74,22	26,62
1938-39	48,48	20,78	69,26	27,70
1939-40	54,75	25,22	79,97	29,53

* The figures for 1937-38 exclude excise duty on mineral oil from the recorded values of exports. For purposes of comparison, the excise duty on mineral oils has been deducted from the 1936-37 figures and the comparable figures are shown in brackets.

H. STATISTICS ON PASSENGER AND FREIGHT CARRYINGS AND REVENUES OF THE BURMA RAILWAY, 1926-36 *

	<i>Passengers</i>	<i>Earnings in Rupees</i>	<i>Tons of Goods</i>	<i>Earnings in Rupees</i>
1926-27	35,586,000	1,52,59,000	5,024,000	2,81,51,000
1927-28	37,126,000	1,63,40,000	5,494,000	3,13,22,000
1928-29	35,374,000	1,52,81,000	5,725,000	3,15,02,000
1929-30	33,124,000	1,41,11,000	5,494,000	3,17,13,000
1930-31	28,862,000	1,18,51,000	4,945,000	2,80,15,000
1931-32	22,847,000	97,67,000	3,975,000	2,51,43,000
1932-33	21,209,000	93,31,000	3,449,000	2,17,36,000
1933-34	20,330,000	86,59,000	4,021,000	2,52,03,000
1934-35	20,736,000	88,42,000	4,175,000	2,65,35,000
1935-36	20,559,000	91,56,000	3,983,000	2,49,57,000

The railway carries about three times as many passengers as does the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, but this private company transports a greater tonnage of freight due to its rice cargoes from the delta.

* *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1926-27 to 1935-36*, Cmd. 5804 in *Parl. Papers 1937-38* XXIX, 754.

I. SHIPPING IN RANGOON HARBOR

<i>Ownership</i>	<i>Pre-war Average</i>		<i>1935-36</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Tons</i>
British	2,169	4,121,000	1,904	5,639,000
British Indian	351	474,000	421	1,133,000
Foreign	321	824,000	566	1,752,000

Forty-three steam and motor vessels of 100 tons or more, totaling 45,605 tons, list Rangoon as their home port.

APPENDIX IV

A. ANNUAL MINERAL PRODUCTION IN BURMA FROM 1928 TO 1937†

	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Tungsten ore* (tons)	840	1,397	2,779	2,604	2,390	2,604	3,329	3,837	4,552	4,998
Copper (1,000 tons)	4.9	4.8	8.1	6.5	5.4	5.8	5.2	4.2	4	3.7
Iron ore (1,000 tons)	75	46	33	2	7	36	24	23	26	25
Lead (1,000 tons)	101.6	102.1	114.4	89.8	78.8	96.1	88.8	89.4	90.9	91.2
Nickel (tons)	787	830	951	804	930	973	1,209	1,465	1,292	1,200
Petroleum (1,000 tons)	1,012	978	991	942	956	961	984	970	1,025	1,060
Salt (1,000 tons)	21.3	23.8	19.2	23	25.1	35.8	37	40.1	32.3	53.8
Silver (1,000 fine oz.)	7,405	7,281	7,054	5,900	5,948	6,054	5,792	5,826	5,952	6,180
Tin (tons)	1,946	2,649	2,990	2,979	3,168	3,472	4,061	4,102	4,546	4,636
Zinc (1,000 tons)	64.4	55.4	60.7	45.3	41.4	55.4	54.8	58.2	61.3	58.6
Gold	approximately 1,000 fine oz. annually since 1934.									

* Tungsten yield of tungsten exceeds that of the remainder of the British Empire. Less than half of the tungsten comes from the Southern Shan States including Kachin; the remainder comes principally from the Tenasserim Division.

† Data to April 30, 1938.

‡ Estimated amount for the British Empire for 10 years, 1928-1937, Cmd. 5872 in *Parl. Papers*, 1937-38, XXVIII.

PRODUCTION AND VALUE (in 1939) OF MINERALS FROM VARIOUS SECTIONS OF BURMA FOR TWO YEARS ARE AS FOLLOWS:—

Area	Product	1938	1939	Value in 1939 Rs.
Pawnee District	1. Tin concentrate	Tons		
	2. Tungsten concentrate	"	4,519	101,88,682
	3. Mixed Tin and Tungsten concentrate	"	3,848	67,78,161
	4. Antimony	"	58	49,890
	5. Rubies and sapphires	"	264	23,319
	6. Jadeite	Carat	2,12,827	1,55,586
	7. Amber	Cwt.	1,303	65,532
Sittoung District	1. Gold	" Oz.	6	900
	2. Silver	"	1,209	1,15,231
	3. Lead	Tons	59,20,000	
	4. Zinc concentrate	"	80,101	61,75,000
	5. Copper concentrate	"	60,744	77,180
	6. Mixed species	"	5,900	59,347
	7. Pyrites	"	3,015	7,935
Pawnee District	1. Mixed tin and tungsten	"	2,896	87,24,997
			26,250	70,175
				96,11,347

B. AREAS PLANTED TO VARIOUS CROPS, 1934-38

Year Ending June 30	Total Area Sown	Rice	Millet	Gram	Sesamum	Groundnuts	Cotton
1934.....	18,232,854	12,242,228	569,318	165,226	1,609,408	640,188	429,524
1935.....	18,066,045*	12,009,717	597,322	215,808	1,415,931	624,558	442,203
1936.....	18,330,386	11,874,455	528,505	273,962	1,503,668	660,141	507,853
1937.....	18,512,472	12,174,029	506,732	219,054	1,427,132	764,600	515,642
1938.....	18,847,295	12,484,665	520,303	273,962	1,371,933	895,686	559,846

* The decline of 166,809 acres in the area planted to rice was attributed to low prices and insufficiency of early rain. Note the constant and considerable gain in the area planted to cotton and groundnuts. During this period there was an annual average of more than 1,000,000 acres planted to beans and other legumes.

APPENDIX V

STATISTICS ON LITERACY AMONG NON-EUROPEANS IN BURMA *

	MALES			<i>Literate in English</i>
	<i>Total Population</i>	<i>Illiterate</i>	<i>Literate</i>	
Burmese	4,202,079	1,600,881	2,601,198	51,262
Other indigenous races	2,307,725	1,617,377	690,348	16,679
Chinese	127,049	74,876	52,173	5,018
Indian Hindus	425,389	289,864	135,525	21,145
Indian Muslims	271,514	179,238	92,276	9,991
Other Indians	37,008	18,855	18,153	6,800
Indo-Burma races	90,307	60,351	29,956	5,512
Total males	7,480,676	3,844,886	3,635,790	130,976
	FEMALES			
Burmese	4,393,952	3,600,438	793,514	8,910
Other indigenous races	2,316,266	2,157,477	158,789	5,531
Chinese	66,545	57,000	9,545	936
Indian Hindus	140,220	127,602	12,618	2,101
Indian Muslims	125,080	118,972	6,108	375
Other Indians	18,614	13,656	4,958	2,050
Indo-Burma races	91,859	78,122	13,737	659
Others	14,285	3,256	11,029	10,149
Total females	7,166,821	6,156,523	1,001,298	30,714
Totals, male and female	14,647,497	10,001,409	4,646,088	161,690

* *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1937-38, Cmd. 5894.*

APPENDIX VI

THE U BA THI WAR RESOLUTION, MOVED IN THE BURMA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1940*

It was moved

a. That this House associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless Governments in and outside Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the oppressed and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity and independence,

b. That this House, however, regrets that the British Government have made Burma a participant in the war between Great Britain and Germany without the consent of the people of Burma and have further, in complete disregard of Burmese opinion, passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the Burma Government,

c. That this House is of the opinion that Government should convey to the British Government, that, in consonance with the avowed aims of the present war, it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Burmese people that the principles of democracy with adequate safeguards for the preservation of the rights and interests of the minorities, be immediately applied to Burma and her policy be guided by her own people and that Burma be recognized as an independent nation entitled to frame her own constitution and further that suitable action should be taken in so far as it is possible in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the present governance of Burma.

* The resolution was printed in the *Rangoon Gazette Weekly Budget* of September 2, 1940, as a part of the proceedings of the House session of that date.

APPENDIX VII

COPY OF A WAR POSTER ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA IN BURMESE WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATION*

1. The Polish inhabitants of both sexes are obliged to make way before the Representatives of German authority in so far as the latter can be recognized through their uniforms or through armlets on their sleeves. The streets belong to the conquerors and not to the conquered.
2. The Polish inhabitants of the male sex are obliged to show their respect to all Leading personalities of the State, the party and the Military Forces by uncovering their heads.
3. The Poles are forbidden to employ the German form of greeting by raising the right hand and exclaiming "Heil Hitler."
4. In the shops and at the market-stands all Representatives of German authority, members of their families and all German nationals must be served first, before the conquered.
5. The wearing of Polish school uniforms, of caps with Polish badges, etc., as well as the wearing of uniforms or badges by Polish Railway and Postal officials is prohibited.
6. It is forbidden particularly to the young people to foregather in streets and at street corners.
7. Anyone accosting a German woman or girl will receive exemplary punishment.
8. Polish women who accost Germans will be confined in brothels. . . . Poles who have not yet grasped that they are the conquered who's we are the conquerors and who will not comply with the above decree, will be punished with all the severity of the law.

* Translation from *Rangoon Gazette*, June 8, 1940.

APPENDIX VIII

A. COST OF LIVING INDEX FOR RANGOON*

	Burmans	Tamils, Telugus Oriyas	Hindustanis	Chittagonians
1931	100	100	100	100
1932	98	98	98	86
1933	91	92	92	89
1934	84	91	90	87
1935	90	91	92	89
1936	88	92	90	87
1938	88	93	93	89

* Information assembled from the *Indian Year Book*. It pertains to four classes of Rangoon workers with the year 1931 taken as the base period.

B. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILIES AND INCOMES, RANGOON, BOMBAY, AND AHMEDABAD, 1936

	Rangoon (Burmese)	Bombay	Ahmedabad
Average size of family	3.01	3.70	3.87
Average monthly income	Rs. 58-8-3	Rs. 50-1-7	Rs. 44-7-2

C. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES AMONG INDUSTRIAL WORKERS IN RANGOON, 1938

(With data for Nagpur, a typical Indian city)

	Rangoon	Nagpur
Food	52.7	64.1
Fuel and light	2.2	9.6
Clothing	10.6	10.7
House rent	13.9	1.9
Miscellaneous	17.6	13.7
	100.0	100.0

D. STATISTICS ON IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION, 1927-37†

Year	Immigrants	Emigrants	Net Immigration
1927	428,343	361,291	67,052
1928	418,698	333,006	85,692
1929	405,393	371,877	33,516
1930	368,590	399,276	—30,686
1931	309,426	367,121	—57,695
1932	300,368	288,494	11,874
1933	243,365	252,203	—8,838
1934	256,004	226,698	29,306
1935	273,841	234,246	39,595
1936	245,586	221,006	23,920
1937	244,643	232,362	12,281

† Arranged from Furnivall, *Political Economy of Burma*, 1938 ed.

APPENDIX IX

ESTIMATED REVENUES AND EXPENDITURES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BURMA FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1938-39*

A. ESTIMATED REVENUE RECEIPTS

Land revenue	Rs. 5,09,24,000
Customs	3,70,17,000
Income taxes	1,60,61,000
Forests	1,50,00,000
Excise duties	1,33,02,000
Excise, internal	90,04,000
Jails and convict settlements	10,94,000
Civil works	10,79,000
Miscellaneous, taxes and duties	9,18,000
Irrigation	8,49,000
Police	8,48,000
State lottery	10,00,000
Stamps	36,49,000
Administration of justice	8,27,000
Post and telegraphs	—3,44,000
Registration (notes and deeds)	3,25,000
Interest	2,24,000
Ports and pilotage	2,17,000
Medical	5,99,000
Education	4,82,000
Public Health	1,77,000
Agriculture	1,29,000
Aviation	62,000
Industries	14,000
Veterinary	12,000
Co-operative credit	2,000
Miscellaneous departments	2,00,000
Defense services	6,64,000
Frontier force	3,93,000
Stationery and printing	1,36,000
Miscellaneous	2,69,000
Miscellaneous adjustments between Burma and the Shan States	23,67,000
Total (including miscellaneous items)	15,82,51,500

* Data from *Indian Year Book*, 1937-38, 1347.

B. ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES DEBITABLE TO REVENUE

Forests	Rs. 60,68,000
Land revenue	55,45,000
Customs	11,55,000
Income tax	10,64,000
Excise	19,71,000
Excise duties	2,24,000
State lottery	2,00,000
Stamps	89,000
Registration	1,37,000
Other taxes and duties	1,27,000
Forests, capital outlay	1,19,000
Miscellaneous railway expenditures	16,34,000
Revenue expenditures on public works	28,37,000
Other revenue expenditures	4,14,000
Irrigation and navigation works const.	3,15,000
Capital outlay on post and telegraphs	—2,06,000
Debit reduction	99,35,000
Interest on debts	69,55,000
General administration	1,20,56,000
Administration of justice	55,36,000
Audit	13,64,000
Police	1,54,41,000
Jails and convict settlements	34,10,000
Education	99,80,000
Medical	47,34,000
Public health	13,14,000
Agriculture	10,75,000
Scientific departments	8,95,000
Veterinary	5,63,000
Co-operative credit	5,63,000
Aviation	4,89,000
Ports and pilotage	4,47,000
Ecclesiastical	2,13,000
Industries	2,18,000
External affairs	67,000
Miscellaneous departments	3,17,000
Capital outlay on civil aviation	1,12,000
Civil Works	1,32,22,000
Pensions, etc.	1,45,51,000
Commutation of pensions	6,07,000
Famine relief	20,000
Stationery and printing	11,65,000
Miscellaneous	6,39,000
Defense services	1,48,00,000
Frontier force	60,76,000
Miscellaneous adjustments between Burma and the Shan States	57,32,000
Total (including miscellaneous items)	15,42,29,000

C. PRINCIPAL ANNUAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

RECEIPTS.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Land Revenue</i>	<i>Excise</i>	<i>Forests</i>	<i>Stamps</i>
1932-33	5,49,56,000	1,09,27,000	1,28,29,000	61,51,000
1933-34	5,37,50,000	88,85,000	88,32,000	59,96,000
1934-35	4,57,49,000	79,57,000	74,99,000	48,02,000
1935-36	4,32,51,000	83,47,000	83,80,000	42,02,000
1936-37	4,91,90,000	89,08,000	1,07,24,000	40,89,000

EXPENDITURES

<i>Year</i>	<i>Administration</i>	<i>Police</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Civil Works</i>
1932-33	1,09,49,000	1,60,38,000	1,29,01,000	1,03,83,000
1933-34	97,93,000	1,78,77,000	84,71,000	92,35,000
1934-35	1,01,44,000	1,54,69,000	79,39,000	86,46,000
1935-36	98,99,000	1,52,74,000	81,32,000	90,03,000
1936-37	1,01,07,000	1,49,98,000	80,84,000	97,29,000

APPENDIX X

MODERN BURMESE PRINTING

ကုလားပေါင်း ၃ ဆိနီးကေချပ်

ကမ္ဘာတွင် ဆန်အများဆုံးရောင်းချ
နေသည့် မြန်မာပြည် ၏ မြို့တော် ဖြစ်သော
ရန် ကုန် မြို့ သည်။ ကုလား ကူလီပေါင်း
၃၅၀,၀၀၀ တို့၏ ဝင် ချင် တိုင်း ဝင်ရာ။
ထွက်ချင် တိုင်း ထွက်ရာ သင်းဘောဆိပ်
မြို့ကြီးဖြစ်လေသည်။

ထိုကုလား ကူလီများသည်။ မြန်မာ
ပြည်သို့ဆန်စပါး စိုက်ပျိုးရိတ်သိမ်းရန်သွား
ကြ မြင်း ဖြစ် လေ သည်။ ကျောက်ပိမ်းနှင့်
ပတ္တမြားသည်။ ကမ္ဘာတွင် အကျော်ဆုံးဖြစ်
၏။ ပယင်း၊ နီလာတို့မှာလည်း။ ထင်ပေါ်သင့်
သလောက် ထင်ပေါ်လျက်ရှိ၏။ ကမ္ဘာစစ်
ကြီးဖြစ်စဉ်က၊ မြန်မာပြည်သည်။ ဂူလ်ဖရနို
(Wolfram) သံရိုင်း မြောက်မြားစွာဖြင့်ပင်
ပေးပို့ချညီရသေးသည်။

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References to Burma in standard American guides such as the *Index to Periodical Literature* (1802-1906); the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature*; the *International Index*; and W. H. Allen's *A Guide to Historical Literature* are disappointingly few. Lowell Ragatz, *A Bibliography of Articles Descriptive, Historical and Statistical on Colonies and Other Dependent Territories, Appearing in American Geographical and Kindred Journals through 1934* (London, 1935), contains numerous references to Burma.

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In consequence of Burma's long connection with India, much pertinent information may be found in the publications of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Royal Central Asian Society, and the Royal Asiatic Society. The publications of the Royal Geographical Society have much material on Burma. These publications are of the greatest value for the period before 1900. Mention of Burma is less frequent in *The Journal of the Siam* (Thailand) *Society*, the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal* and the *Asiatic Review*.

The concluding sections of this bibliography enumerates the more important sources consulted in this study. Certain ephemeral materials, sources that contain only oblique reference to Burma, and sources for whose identification the footnotes in the text are sufficient, have been omitted. A briefly annotated list of twenty-five works which are considered most valuable for an understanding of contemporary Burma and its background follows:

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INDEX

- ABDA Command, 335
- Aborigines, 22
- Advocate-General, 81, 83
- Agricultural Loans Act, 120
- Agricultural services, 117
- Agriculture, 106-124, 127, 139, 146, 279, 355, 381
- Air France, 40, 320
- Airports, 40, 229, 297, 339
- Air raid precautions, 316
- Akyab, 107, 184, 348, 362, 363
- Alaungpaya, King, 26, 27, 45, 46, 291, 353
- Alexander, General Sir Harold, 335, 342, 347, 348, 361
- All-Burma Cultivators' League, 243
- All-Burma Workers' League, 243
- Amarapura, 30, 169, 278
- Amber, 142, 213
- American
 - airmen, 235, 322, 365 *See* AVG
 - films, 173-176
 - interests, 35, 36, 306, 308, 309
 - trade, 218, 266, 373, 376, 377
 - trucks, 43, 226, 310
- American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society, 16, 183, 184, 205
- American Volunteer Group, 332, 333, 338, 339, 344
- Amery, L. S., Rt. Hon., 250, 255, 264, 313, 319
- Amherst, Lord, 29, 287, n
- Andaman Islands, 11, 133, 200, 207, 328, 344
- Anglican Church, 206, 207
- Anglo-American trade, 266
- Anglo-Burmans, 19, 84, 85, 162, 163, 207, 267, 314, 333
- Anglo-Burmese wars, 28-37, 214, 263, 292
- Anglo-French agreements, 54, 224, 289
- Anglo-French rivalry, 44-57, 289
- Anglo-Indians, 19, 207, 267
- Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, 140
- Anglo-Siam Company, 112
- Anglo-Siamese treaties, 287-289
- Anglo-Thai non-aggression pact, 290
- Animism, 17, 194, 196
- Anti-Chinese riots, 209, 244, 280
- Anti-Indian riots, 159, 208, 244, 245, 249
- Anti-Muslim riots, 199
- Anti-Separationists, 66-70, 151, 247, 371-372
- Arabic, 14
- Arabs, 23
- Arakan, 8, 9, 23, 27, 29, 37, 58, 59, 130, 267, 364, 367
- Arakan pagoda, 197
- Arakan campaign, 362, 363
- Arakanese, 18, 195
- Architecture, 145, 185, 240, 286
- Armenians, 203
- Army, 17, 18, 67, 79, 97, 313-316, 332-333
- Arnstein Commission, 233-234
- Art, 42, 166-173, 184
 - religious, 167
- Asiatic Petroleum Company, 233
- Assam, 21, 27, 29, 128, 366
- Atlantic Charter, 251
- Auchinleck, General Sir Claude, 362
- Auckland, Lord, 219
- Auditor-general, 94, 95
- Auxiliary Force, 333
- Ava, 25, 27, 29, 30
- Ava bridge, 346
- Aviation, 79, 132, 229, 258
- Awbatha U, 173
- Aye U, 250, 314
- Ayuthia 25, 27, 285
- Ba U, 246
- Ba, Sir Maung, 200
- Baker, Dr. John Earl, 232, 233
- Bamboo, 123, 160, 168
- Bandits, Chinese, 57, 274
- Bandula, Maha, 28
- Banana* (opium eater), 155
- Banking, 118-120, 129, 195, 300, 354, 356
- Barnard, J. T. O., 324
- Bassein, 17, 26, 131, 132, 135, 153, 167, 193
- Bawdwin mines, 136, 139, 141, 224, 274,
- Beans, 3, 113, 114, 127
- Bengal, 186
 - Bay of, 8, 41, 210, 212, 268, 297, 304
- Bengal Native Infantry, 28
- Bentinck, Lord William, 30, 60, 219
- Bernard, Sir Charles, 39, 54
- Bhamo, 35, 39, 56, 113, 128, 131, 162, 212-217, 221, 229, 272, 310

- Bihar, 186
- Bilin River, battle of, 340
- Birds, 124
 - nests, edible, 133, 213
- Birth rate, 153
- Blacksmiths, 145, 170
- Bombay, 297
- Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, 36, 137
- Books, 42, 178, 188-191
- Booth-Gravely, Sir Walter, 239
- Borneo Company, 112
- Boundaries, 9, 162, 268, 313
 - disputes over, 28, 54, 224, 271-276, 288-290
- Breweries, 154
- British
 - airmen — *See* R.A.F.
 - annexation of Burma, 28-37
 - films, 174-175
 - in Burma, 143, 215, 383
 - in India, 2
 - interest in Kra Canal, 292-295
 - interests in Burma, 91, 137, 142
 - officials, 2, 98, 348, 349
 - relations with Burma, 238-242, 313-322
 - relations with France, 44-57
 - relations with Japan, 300-311, 350-367
 - relations with Thailand, 285-300
 - shipping, 242, 304
 - subjects, 91, 98, 143
 - trade, 31-33, 212-225, 302
 - troops, 29, 82, 332, 361, 362
- British Burma Petroleum Company, 137
- British East India Company, *See* India Company
- British Malaya, 109, 280, 292, 293, 295, 316, 331
- Burma Cotton Company, 137
- Burma Criminal Law Amendment Act, 89(n)
- Burma Dinner, 330
- Burma Freedom Bloc, 249
- Burma Highway Commission, 232
- Burma Independence Army, 348, 360, 361
- Burma, independence of, 351-354
- Burma Indian Chamber of Commerce, 95
- Burma Oil Company, 136, 140, 183, 234, 345
- Burma Provincial Co-operative Bank, 121
- Burma railways, 95, 129-131, 134, 210, 344, 356, 365
- Burma Research Society, 172, 184, 193
- Burma Rifles, 313, 314, 332
- Burma Road, 128, 130, 210-236, 305-312, 334, 348
 - closing of, 305-312
- Burma Rural Self Government Act, 101
- Burma-Siam Railway, 359
- Burma Tenancy Act, 121
- Burma-Yunnan Railway, 222, 235
- Burmese, appearance of, 15
 - attitude toward Chinese, 41, 150, 270-285
 - attitude toward crime, 158-161
 - attitude toward Europeans, 240, 243
 - attitude toward European War, 319, 383
 - attitude toward Indians, 41, 150, 241, 263-269
 - attitude toward Italy, 323
 - attitude toward Japan, 251, 252, 305
 - attitude toward Thais, 16, 285-291
 - capital, 137

- Carving, 168
 Case, Rev. B. C., 122
 Cass, General Lewis, 32
 Catholics, 204, 319
 Cattle (*see* bullocks)
 Cement, 142
 Censorship, 321
 Central Aircraft Corporation, 310
 Chang, Li Hung, 222
 Chantabun, Treaty of, 56, 57, 289
 Chaplains, 100, 206
 Charcoal, 123
 Chauk, 131, 136
 Chaulmoogra, oil of, 152
 Chemicals, 127
 Cheroots, 129, 147, 158, 171
 Chettyars, 118-120, 267, 268
 Chewing, 146
 Chiang Kai-shek, 284, 333, 335
 Childbirth, 156
 Chinese troops, 333, 334, 362-365
 Chin Hills, 11, 38, 39, 162, 347, 361, 363
 Chin language, 13, 189
 China, communications with Burma, 132.
 See Burma Road
 influence on Burma, 2-6, 24, 283
 interest in Chinese in Burma, 280-283
 invasions of Burma, 27, 270
 migrations from, 23, 278-280
 munitions to, 1, 228-232, 305
 railways, 211
 relations with Great Britain, 271, 275, 307
 trade, 214-224, 272
 war with Japan, 276, 333-335
 China National Aviation Company, 132
 Chindwin River, 10, 117, 346-348, 362, 366
 Chinese
 bandits, 57, 274
 Burmanization, 14, 278-281
 Burmese attitude toward, 41, 278-280
 films, 174
 immigrants, 150, 267, 278-284
 interests, 270-285
 language, 278-281
 occupations, 280
 officials, 232, 235, 271-277
 shops, 128, 129, 280
 students, 180, 281
 troops, 333, 334, 364
 Chinese Bureau of Mines, 141
 Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 85, 95, 282
 Chinese Overseas Bank, 282
 Chins, 13, 17, 39, 42, 101, 149, 162, 332, 347, 365
Chinthes, 167, 168
 Choe, U Ba, 284
- Chone, Saya, 166
 Christianity, 150, 177, 194, 196, 203-208
 Church of India, 207
 Churchill, Winston, 251, 306
 Churchill, Lord Randolph, 52
 Cigarettes, 158
 Cinemas, 173-176
 censorship of, 174
 Civil Service, 97-100
 Clay, 141, 142
 Climate, 9, *see* Rainfall
 Clothing, 42, 169, 281
 Clubs, 152, 163, 193
 Coal, 127, 141
 Cobden, Richard, 32
 Cocaine, 280
 Cochrane, Sir Archibald, 77, 228, 255, 269
 Coco Islands, 133
 Coconuts, 116, 133
 Coeducation, 178
 Coffee, 113, 295
 Collett, Brigadier-General, 288
 Colombo, 297, 313
 Colquhoun, Archibald R., 221, 222
 Commerce, *see* Trade
 Communications, 128-135, 210-236, 316, 347, 359, 360
 Communism, 241-243
 Comorin, Cape, 210
 Conscription, 315
 Consolidated Cotton and Oil Mills, 137
 Conveyances, 42, 134-135
 Co-operative Societies, 121-122
 Copper, 141, 213, 380
 Corn, 116
 Cotton, 35, 113, 116, 137
 exports, 35, 127, 272
 manufactures, 137, 300-303
 See also Textiles
 Council of Ministers, 78, 80
 Counsellors, 83, 255
 Courts, 164-165
 Cox, Captain Hiram, 27
 Craddock, Sir Reginald, 61, 73
 Crafts, *see* Handicrafts
 Craigie, Sir Robert, 306, 309
 Crawford, John, 29, 58, 213, 214, 278
 Crime, 158-165
 Cripps, Sir Stafford, 318
 Crosthwaite, Sir Charles, 289
 Currie, Lauchline, 233
 Curzon, Lord, 61, 211, 225
 Customs, 41, 144-150
- Dairies, 154
 Dalhousie, Lord, 4, 32-34
 Dalrymple, A., 21
 Dancing, 172-173
 Danish East Asiatic Company, 112

- Davies, Major, 222-223
 Davis, Harold S., 233
 Dawna Range, 11
 Dawson's Bank, Ltd., 122
 Death rate, 153
 Debt, *see* Finances
 Debt Conciliation Act, 120
 Deer, 124
 Defence of Burma Act, 318, 321, 322
 Defense, 79, 313-316, 322, 332-334
 De Lagree-Garnier Expedition, 47
 Democracy
 See Self-government
 Dengue fever, 157
 Denmark, 143, 328
 Dentists, 156, 300
 Depression, world economic, 119
 Dewar, T. P., 323
 Diamonds, 142
 Dictionaries, 14(n), 189, 205
 Diocesan Boys' & Girls' High School, 180
 Divorce, 149
 Dockyards, *see* shipbuilding
 Doctors, *see* Medicine
 Domestic service, 139, 196
 Dominion status, 41, 70, 254-256
 Dorinan-Smith, Sir Reginald, 79(n), 347, 349
 Dramatic art, 171-173
 Dufferin Hospital, 156, 183
 Dufferin, Lord, 37, 38, 48, 51-52, 222
 Dun, U Kyaw, 188
 Duroiselle, Charles, 22, 190
 Dutch East India Company, 25, 213
 Dutch K. L. M. Airlines, 40, 320
 Dutch trade with Burma, 24, 25, 213

 East India Company, 25, 26, 29, 44-45, 176, 213
 Education, 176-193, 198, 357
 compulsory, 180-181
 cost of 180-181
 See Schools
 Electricity, 42, 135, 196
 Elephants, 123, 124
 Elias, Ney, 220, 288
 Ellerman's Arakan Rice and Trading Company, 112
 Empire Marketing Board, 117
 Engineers, 185
 English Baptist Missionary Society, 205
 English language books, 191
 in schools, 177-179
 use of, 14-15
Epigraphia Birmanica, 22
 Eurasians, 19
 European
 interests in Burma, 136, 147
 officials, 91
 troops, 206, 313, 332
 Europeans, 19, 319-321
 attitude toward education, 176-179
 in government, 91
 Burmese attitude toward, 238-241
 European War, effect of, 311-322
 Excluded districts, 100-103
 Expenditures, 258-261, 354, 386-388
 Experimental stations, 116

 Factories, 136-140
 Family life, 144-149
 Farms, *see* Agriculture
 Federated Shan States, *see* Shan States
 Fei-peng, Y., 232
 Ferry, Jules, 50-42
 Fertilizers, 116
 Finances, 93-96, 102, 250, 255, 325, 354
 See Expenditure and Revenues
 Finger Print Bureau, 161
 Firearms, 163
 Firewood, 124
 Fish, 154
 Flag, Burmese, 353
 Food, 113, 147
 Forage crops, 112, 116
 Foreign relations, *see* Relations
 Foreign trade, 106-112, 125-128
 with Japan, 300-304
 Forest exports, 123-124
 Forests, 122-124, 386-388
 Forsythie, Sir Douglas, 285
 Fort Hertz, 361
 Franchise, 64, 88-91, 150, 186
 Franco-Burmese treaties, 49-53
 French
 engineers, 294
 influence in Burma, 44, 204
 priests, 204, 292
 trade, 25, 26
 French-British relations, 44-57
 French East India Company, 25, 26
 French Indo-China
 Japanese pressure, 305, 311
 railways, 210
 relations with Thailand, 212
 trade, 2
 French Yunnan Railway, 215, 221, 211
 Fruit, 113, 154
 Fullerton, Robert, 51
 Furniture, 138, 147, 170
 Furrivall, J. S., 190, 244, 288
 Fyche, Albert, 216-219

 Gains, Sir Henry, 327
 Game preservation, 124
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 311, 312
 Gendarmes, *see* Police
 General Council of Education, 177, 178, 179, 246
 George VI, General, 311, 312

- Germans in Burma, 319
 Ghine, U Ohn, 68, 246
 Girl guides, 152
 Girls' Friendly Society, 152
 Glanville, de, Sir Oscar, 68, 71, 239
 Gold, 141, 213
 ornaments, 169
 Goldsmiths, 169, 171
 Goodwill Missions, 181, 250, 290
 Government, 77-105
 See Governor, Legislative Council
 Government of Burma Acts, 64, 77
 Government of India Act, 60-76
 Governor, powers of, 77-89, 101, 349
 Great Britain, *see* British
 Groundnuts, 112
 Gujaratis, 208
 Gye, U Maung, 246
 Gyi, Sir Joseph Augustus Maung, 64, 71, 239, 246
 Gyi, U Maung, 246, 255
 Gyi, U Tin, 171
 Gurkhas, 163, 332, 341, 346

 Haas, Frederic, 51, 52, 53
 Haas, Victor H., 235
 Habits, *see* Customs
 Habitual Offenders Restriction Act, 161
 Haji, S. N., 237
 Haji Coastal Reservation Bill, 91, 237
 Halderman, General, 35
 Halifax, Viscount (Lord Irwin), 65, 67
 Hall, D. G. E., 21, 190
 Hallett, Holt S., 221
 Halliday, Robert, 190
 Hammond, Sir Laurie, 85, 186
 Handicrafts, 42, 129, 166-171
 Hartog Committee, 181
 Harvey, G. E., 20, 21
 Hawaii, Japanese attack on, 299
 Headhunters, 18
 Headmen, village, 144, 253
 Health, *see* Public Health
 Hellmann, Marco, 233
 Henry, Prince, 57
 Hides, 127, 138
 High Commissioner for Burma, 104
 High Court, 96-97, 164-165
 Highways, 134
 See Burma Road
 Hindus, 195, 208, 267
 Hindustani, 14, 163, 208
 Histories, 21-22
History of Burma, 20
 Hkampti Long States, 102
 Hla, Saya Tun, 166
 Hla, U Tin, 190
 Hlaing, U Chit, 64, 69, 71, 72, 151, 247
 Hoare, Sir Samuel, 73, 74
 Homes, 144-147

 Hongkong, 295
 Hoover, Herbert, 141
 Horses, 115
 Hospitals, 152-158
 mission, 205-206
 Hsenwi, 114, 216, 217, 326
 Hsipaw, 113, 160, 327
 Hukawng Valley, 18, 102, 108, 323-324, 360, 364
 Hunting, 124
 Hutton, General T. J., 335, 342

 Immigration, 265-267, 278-279
 agreements, 266, 283
 See Chinese and Indians
 Imperial Airways, 40, 229, 320
 Imphal, 366
 Independent Party, 64
 India
 influence on Burma, 7
 population, 110
 relations with Burma, 58-76, 263-269
 Indian Church Act, 207
 Indian
 civil service, 97-98
 constitution, 60-69
 films, 174
 interests, 137-139, 263-269
 language, 13, 134
 shops, 145
 students, 208
 terrorists, 159
 textiles, 169
 troops, 313, 314, 332, 341-343, 346, 364-366
 Indian Councils Acts, 59
 Indian Extradition Act of 1903, 288
 Indian-Japanese Trade Agreements, 301, 302
 Indian Mutiny of 1857, 59
 Indian National Congress, 64, 104, 240
 Indian Reform Acts, 60-65
 Indian Statutory Commission, *see* Simon Commission
 Indo-Burma Petroleum Company, 137
 Indo-Burma Trade Agreement, 125
 Infant death rate, 153
 Innes, Sir Charles, 159, 239
 Instrument of instruction, 78, (n)
 Intaleng, Sao Kawng Kiao, 286
 Inter-marriage, 150
 Interpretation Act, 75
 Irrawaddy Division, 107
 Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, 152-153, 224, 234
 Irrawaddy River, 10, 117, 151, 152, 212
 Irrigation, 117
 Iselin, Colonel Frederic, 275, 277
 Iselin Commission, 162, 275
 Italy, 34, 54, 110

- Jade, 35, 142, 213, 225
 Jails, 164, 200
 Japan
 and Burma Road, 305-312
 control of Indo-China, 2
 control of Thailand, 2
 films, 174
 interest in Kra Canal, 297-299
 trade, 110, 300-304
 Japanese Campaign for Burma, 331-349, 364-367
 Japanese in Burma, 156, 200, 357-359
 relations with Great Britain, 301-302
 Japanese occupation, 350-367
 Japanese troops, 336, 337
 Johnson, Nelson T., 227
 Joint Select Committee, 62, 63, 72-75, 93
 Judson, Adoniram, 205
 Judson College, 178, 183, 187, 205
 Jute bags, 127

 Kachin Hill Tribes Regulations, 324
 Kachins, 18, 191, 332
 Kai-shek, Chiang, 1, 225, 284, 333, 335
 Kalaw, 10, 130
 Kanthi, U, 201
 Karen language, 12, 178, 191, 192
 Karenni States, 8, 17, 74-75, 134, 160, 327, 347
 Karens, 16-17, 84, 149, 163, 332
 Kelantan, 289
 Keng Cheng, 56, 57
 Keng Tung, 39, 55, 134, 162, 169, 204, 274, 275, 325, 347
 Khan, Aga, 72
 Khin, Ma Ma, 185
 Khine, Chan Chor, 282
 Khyber Pass, 210
 Kianglung, 55, 57
 Kimberly, Lord, 56
 King's Island, 292
 Kokang, 273
 Ko, Taw Sein, 3 footnote
Konbaungset Mahayazunin, 22
 Kra, 291, 336, 338
 Kra Canal, 291-299
 Kunlong Ferry, 225, 227
 Kunning, 225-228, 331
 Kwangsi, 57, 225
 Kyaung, *see* Monasteries

 Labor, 84, 136-140
 Chinese, 139, 290
 Indian, 136, 267
 See also Occupational Distribution
 Lac, 113
 Lacquer industry, 168, 171
 Lailah, 17
 Lailah, 114
 Landers, Comm. for, 31, 33
 Land Banks, 121
 Land Improvement Loans Act, 120
 Land Loans, 119-120
 Land ownership, 118-122
 Langham-Carter, B. R., 190
 Languages, 12-18, 176-179, 188-192
 Lao States, 54
 Lashio, 56, 130, 225, 229, 337
 Lashio-Kunming Highway, *see* Burma Road
 Lawyers, 185
 Leach, F. Burton, 230
 Lead, 141
 League of Nations, 323-324
 Leather, 138
 Ledo Road, 360
 Legislative Council, 82-89
 Legumes, *see* Beans
 Lemons, 123
 Leprosy, 152, 157, 158
 Libraries, 192-193
 Limestone, 143
 Linseed, 116
 Linlithgow, Lord, 72
 Linlithgow Commission on Agriculture, 181
 Lisaws, 18
 Lighthouses, 269
 Liquor, 256, 279
 drinking, 147, 154
 Literacy, 151, 186
 Literature, *see* Books
 Living conditions, 117, 144-155
 Loimwe, 134, 162
 Lolo-Muhso, 12
 Loo-Nee, Sydney, 63
 Lotteries, State, 248, 386, 387
 Luce, G. H., 190
 Lwin, U Ba, 245, 284
 Lyall, Sir Alfred, 39
 Lyons, Lord, 50-51

 Machinery, 127, 256
 McLeod, Captain, 30
 Madagascar, 44
 Madras, 127, 297
 Magazines, 192
 Magwe, 136, 216, 253, 334
 Mae Sai River, 260
 Malacca, Straits of, 212, 242
 Malaya, 112, 152-157, 246
 Malaya, 12
 Mandalay, 37, 122, 132, 182, 191, 193, 197, 224, 246, 249
 Mandalay Express, 151
 Mandalay Post, 151
 Mandalay and Lashio Junction, 144, 160
 Mandalay to Lashio, 244
 Mandalay, 27, 30, 134, 332, 337
 Mandalay, 134, 246, 249

- Manufacturing, *see* Industries
 Marco Polo Bridge Incident, 225, 276
 Margary, Augustus, 35, 36, 220
 Marionette shows, 172-173
 Marriage, 148-150
 Martaban, 25, 340
 Martin, Dom, 204
 Matches, 123, 127, 139
 Maung, Dr. Thein, 246, 249, 256, 318, 324
 Maung Maung, Tharrawaddy, 250
 Maung, Sao Kin, 325
 Maw, Dr. Ba, 71, 121, 242, 246-249, 252, 285, 317-318, 351, 352
 Mawchi, 75, 134, 141, 345
 Maymyo, 10, 135, 158, 180
 Mayo, Lord, 218, 219, 263
 Meat, 146, 154
 Medicine, 92, 151-158
 Mekong River, 47, 54-55, 212, 289, 310
 Merchants, 128-129
 Mergui, 46, 133, 338, 339
 Merrill, General Frank D., 364
 Metals, *see* Minerals
 Midwives, 156
 Military Police, 39, 81, 162, 313, 332
 See also Burmese Frontier Force
 Milk, 116
 Millet, 113
 Mindon, King, 34-35, 47, 167, 202, 216, 324
 Mineral oils, 127, 140
 Minerals, 140-143
 Mingaladon, 40, 282, 314
 Mingun Bell, 168
 Mingyi, Taingda, 38
 Mining, 75, 136-139
 Ministers, Governor's, 78, 80-81
 Minority rights, 63, 103
 Missions, 41, 42, 203-209
 to the blind, 184
 Minto-Morley Reforms, 60
 Mitsubishi interests, 304
 Mitsui interests, 304
 Modernization, 40-43, 253
 Mogaung, 111, 114, 142, 365
 Mogok, 8, 52, 169
 Mon Khmers, 16
 Monasteries, 146, 168, 193, 196-202
 Moneylenders, 118, 145
 Mong Hsing, 55, 56
 Mong Mit State, 18, 325
 Mongols, 24
 Monks, Buddhist, 72, 146, 196-202
 Mons, 12, 13, 190
 Montague-Chelmsford reforms, 61-63, 180
 Monywa, 136, 346
 Motion pictures, *see* Cinemas
 Motor vehicles, 164
 Motor Vehicles Act, 161, 164
 Moulmein, 58, 132, 135, 184, 193, 285, 286, 292, 339
 Mountbatten, Admiral the Lord Louis, 363
 Mount Popa, 11
 Mountains, 8, 10, 11
 Mrs, 11
 Munitions to China, 130, 228, 229
 Music, 171-173
 Muslims, 195, 203
 Myingyan, 112, 113, 136, 137
 Myitkyina District, 101, 128, 129, 162, 210, 224, 229, 364
 Myochit Party, 228, 249, 318
 Namkham, 23, 226, 229
 Namtu, 136, 139, 141, 224, 274
 Namwan, Assigned Tract of, 75, 273
 Narcotics, 155
 Nath Singh Oil Company, 141
 National Council of Women, 152
 Nationalism, 62-64, 237-257
 Nattukottai Chettyars' Association, 85, 121
 Navasvasti, Captain Laung Dhamrong, 291
 Navy, 315
 Nazism, 238, 241, 252
 Negrals, 26, 45
 Nehru, Jawaharlal, 241, 252
 Nestorians, 203
 Netherlands East Indies, 109, 111, 331, 334
 New Light of Burma, 151, 192
 Newspapers, 192
 Nickel, 141
 Nicobar Islands, 11, 12, 133, 207, 328, 344
 Nursing, 149, 156, 183, 184
 Nyan, U Ba, 166
 Nyoe, U Tun, 185
 Occupational diseases, 138
 Occupations, 136-140, 280
 Officials, 98
 Oil, *see* Petroleum
 Opium, 155
 Oranges, 113
 Ottawa Trade Agreement, 256
 Padaungs, 18
 Pagan, 24, 168
 Pagan Min, King, 31
 Page, Sir Arthur, 97, 198
 Pagodas, 196-200
 Pak-chan River, 293, 294
 Pakkoku, 112, 113, 132
 Palaungs, 12, 16
 Pali language, 189, 190, 196
 Panthays, 35, 195, 215, 217
 Paper, 127, 170

- Parran, Thomas, 235
 Parsees, 267
 Partially excluded areas, 100-102
 Pau Chin Hau Movement, 196
 Pavie, M., 55-56, 289
 Pe, U Ba, 65, 68, 71, 72, 246, 247
 Peanuts, 112, 113
 Pearn, B. R., 190
 Peel, Earl, 69
 Pegu, 24, 25, 34, 37, 44, 133, 342
 River, 136
 yomas, 11, 154, 342
 Peguans, 13
 Penal colonies, *see* Jails
 Penang, 58, 59, 293
 People's Party, 65
 Peoples, 12-19
 Perak, 289
 Petroleum, 135-140
 Phayre, Sir Arthur, 59, 188, 214-216
 Pine, 123
 Pincapples, 115
 Plowing, 115
 Police, 81, 98, 158-164
 See also Burmese Frontier Forces and
 Military Police
 Politics, 237-261
 Pongyis, *see* Monks
 Pongyis' League, 243
 Population, 12
 Portuguese, 25, 133, 204, 292
 Postal services, 134, 266, 320
 censorship, 321
 Potatoes, 115
 Pottery, 170, 171, n
 Pownall, General Sir Henry, 363
 Precious stones, 141, 142, 169
 Prendergast, General, 37, 54
 Press, *see* Newspapers
 Printing, 192
 Professions, 183, 185
 Prome, 23, 28, 153, 197, 342, 343
 Prostitution, 150
 Protestants, 205-208
 Provincial Police Training School, 163
 Pu, Maung, 63
 Purcell H., 158
 Pu, Tharawaddy U., 69, 246
 Pu, U., 200, 246, 249
 Public health, 152-158, 183, 357
 Public Service Commission, 69, 103
 Public services, *see* Civil Service
 Pye, U., 189
 Pyin Oun Aung Agricultural School, 122
 Pyu, Taik Tin, 238

- Racial conflict, 19, 41, 159, 205
 minorities, 16-19, 84
 pride, 42
 Radio broadcasting, 321
 Railway battalion, 314
 Railway Board, 95
 Railways, 14, 40, 56, 93-95, 128-131, 154,
 210-211, 221-224, 225, 359, 360
 in China, 211, 227
 in Thailand, 135, 210, 295, 359
 Rainfall, 9, 112, 117, 225
 Rangoon, 2, 26, 40-41, 129, 135, 152,
 153, 183, 304-305, 320, 341
 River, 132, 133
 University of, 41, 84, 168, 178, 183,
 193
 Rangoon Bar Association, 97
 Rangoon Chamber of Commerce, 217
 Rangoon Corporation, 193
 Rangoon Electric Tramways, 137
 Rangoon General Hospital, 156, 183
 Rangoon Literary Society, 193
 Rangoon Pilot Service, 133
 Rangoon Trades Association, 85
 Rangoon Turf Club, 258, 320
 Rangoon Vigilance Society, 150, 152
 Rayon, 272
 Refrigeration, 154
 Refugees, 348
 Relations, foreign
 with British, 238-240
 with China, 270-278, 233-235
 with India, 263-264
 with Italy, 34, 52
 with Japan, 300-312, 350-361
 with Thailand, 285-293
 Religion, 16, 194-209, 357, 358
 See also Buddhism
 See also Christianity
 Rhinoceros, 124
 Rice, 116-118
 exports, 8, 106-110, 375
 Indian, 119
 Indo-Chinese, 127
 mills, 136, 139
 prices, 109, 118
 Thai, 127, 286, 296
 Rivalries, trade, 43-57, 217-218, 221, 227
 Rockefeller Foundation, 185
 Round Table Conference, 200
 Royal Air Force, 348, 360, 361
 Royal Marine, 341
 Rubber, 116, 127
 Rubens, 52, 141, 142
 Rubber, 52, 141, 142

- Salween River, 10, 30, 55, 132, 212, 227, 286, 340
 Sanitation, 42, 152-154
 Sanskrit, 196
 Sapphires, 141, 142
 Sarda Act, 148
 San, "Major-General" Aung, 352, 361
 Saunders Weaving Institute, 169, 184
 Saw, Maung, 204
 Saw mills, 126, 136
 Saw, U, 242, 246, 249-252
 Sayadaws, *see* Monks
 Schools, 176-187
 agricultural, 183
 Anglo-vernacular, 179-181
 Chinese, 208, 281
 commercial, 184
 engineering, 183, 185
 English, 180
 Indian, 208
 medical, 156
 mission, 176, 204-209
 monastic, 179, 199
 music, 184
 Muslim, 208
 police, 163
 vernacular, 181
 See also Education
 Scott, Sir George, 8, 39, 42, 55, 56, 274, 289
 Secretary of State, 98, 104
 Sein, Ma Mya, 69, 151, 284
 Self-government, 63, 65, 75, 254-255
 Separation from India, 58-76, 263-269
 Sesamum, 112, 145
 Sesaya, 152
 Seventh Armored Brigade, 341
 Shan language, 16, 130, 178
 Shan States, 101-103, 113, 155, 324-327
 education in, 178
 Shans, 16, 21, 24, 101, 149, 169, 170, 184, 332
 Shipbuilding, 45, 132, 136
 Shipping, 10, 40, 91, 131, 295-297, 304
 See also Trade
 Shoe industry, 170
 Shops, 128, 129
 Shwedagon Pagoda, 11, 26, 40, 197, 239
 Shwesandaw Pagoda, 197
 Siam, *see* Thailand
 Siamese in Burma, 196, 286
 Siamese trade with Burma, 128, 285
 Sikhs, 163, 208, 267
 Silk, 114, 166, 272
 weaving, 169, 184
 see also Textiles
 Silver, 3, 127, 136, 141, 272, 274, 380
 Silverware, 167
 Simon Commission, 65-67, 181
 Simon, Sir John, 65, 73
 Singalese, 196
 Singapore, 291, 294, 295, 316, 331, 337
 Sino-Burmese, 280
 Sino-Japanese War, 1, 155, 225
Sinyetha, 247, 285
 Sittang bridge, battle of, 341
 Sittang River, 11, 131, 133
 Sladen, Major E. B., 217, 219
 Sladen, Sir Edward, 38, 53
 Sladen Expedition, 217, 219
 Slavery, 102, 132, 133
 Smoking, 146, 154, 158
 Smuggling, 155
 Soap, 128, 138, 145
 Social service, 152, 158, 200, 208
 Social structure, 144, 148
 Spices, 127, 292, 295
 Sports, 158, 283
 Spy system, 164
 State ownership, 129, 133
 Stephenson, Sir Hugh, 71, 89, 239
 Stephenson Plan, 114
 Steel, 125, 127, 256
 Steel Brothers, 112, 137, 142
 Stilwell, General, 311, 335, 347, 362-365
 Strategic importance, 313
 Strikes, 136, 187
 Subsidiary states, 326-328
 see also Excluded districts and Partially excluded areas
 Sugar, 256
 cane, 114
 industry, 111, 114
 Sunflowers, 116
 Sun Yat-Sen, 283, 289
 Swastika Party, 238
 Symes, Colonel Michael, 27, 213, 278
 Szumao, 221
 Talaings, 13, 26, 45
 Tamils, 208, 267
 Tanaka Memorial, 305
 Tanks, use of, 341-343
 Tariff, 125, 255-257, 302-303
 Taunggyi, 10, 130, 184, 346
 Tavoy, 141, 336, 338
 Tavng Peng, 113, 326
 Tayoung River, 293, 294
 Taxation, 39, 257, 259-261, 267
 Tea, 113
 Teak, 25, 45, 53, 123-124, 286, 290, 296
 Telegraph, 133, 263
 Telephones, 133, 134
 Tennasserim, 8, 9, 17, 29, 58, 130, 292
 resources of, 107, 136
 Tengyueh, 128, 217, 220
 Textiles, 127, 137, 145, 169, 301-303
 Thailand, 25, 55, 132, 135, 285-300
 relations with Japan, 2, 331, 338, 339
 Thakins, 242-243, 272, 281, 352

- Tharawaddy District, 160, 349
 Tharawaddy, King, 30, 31
 Thathameda Tax, 39
Thathanbaing, 197-198
 Thaton, 23, 24, 114
 Thayetmyo, 107, 113, 136, 143, 183
 Theebaw, King, 26, 33-38, 50-54, 221
 Thi, U Ba, 250, 318, 383
 Thin, U Aung, 68
 Thooreah (Sun), 192, 249
 Thugyi, *see* Headman
 Tibet, 23, 278
 Tibetan Language, 14, 196
 Tigers, 124
 Timber, 122-124, 127, 136
 Tin, 136, 141, 380
Tin, U Pe Maung, 183, 189
 Tobacco, 114, 127
 Toungoo, 17, 125, 107, 113, 135, 193, 343
 Trade, internal, 354-356
 overland, 128
 See also Foreign Trade & Rivalries
 Transportation, 40, 129-135, 210-212, 359
 See also Railways & Highways
 Tremenheer, Captain G. B., 294
 Triangle Valley
 Troops
 See Army and Defense
 Tuberculosis, 153
 Tungsten, 3, 127, 141, 380
 Tut, U Tin, 239, 251

 Union with India, 58-76
 United Kingdom—India Trade Agreement, 257
 United Party, 249, 280
 United States, *see* American
 University College, 183, 186
 University Training Corps, 311

 Vegetables, 146, 154
 Venereal disease, 157

 Veterinarians, 184, 300, 386, 387
 Victoria Peak, 11
 Victoria Point, 133, 294, 297, 235
 Villages, 146, 169, 253

 Wa States, 102, 276
 Wang, Dr. C. T., 272
 War with Japan, 320-367
 Was, 8, 12, 18, 274
 Washington Naval Conference, 272
 Water, 146, 154
 Wavell, General, 333, 335, 362
 Weaving, 169, 171, 184
 see also Textiles
 Wedemeyer, General Albert C., 36
 Wheat, 115
 White, Sir Herbert Thirkell, 274
 Whyte, Sir A. T., 64
 Williams, Dr. Clement, 215, 216
 Wingate, General, 331, 362, 365
 Wolfram, 75, 141
 see Tungsten
 Women, Burmese, 100, 137, 148-152
 Wood, Sir Charles, 177
 Woolens, British, 213
 Workmen's Compensation Act, 138
 World War, 131, 141, 199
 Wunthann, 160

 Yamethin, 114, 117
 Yandabo, Treaty of, 29, 30
 Yaws, 17
 Yenangyaung, 131, 136, 191, 345
 Yin, 17
 Yule, Sir Henry, 203, 215
 Yunnan, 54, 55, 56, 113, 139, 225, 349
 Yunnanese, 139, 141, 195

 Zaw, U Khin, 172
 Zerabadi, 195
 Zeyawadi, 111, 114
 Zin, 141, 360

